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ABSTRACT

The Minorities and Communication Division section of the proceedings contains the following 10 papers: "Gender Stereotypes and Race in Music Videos: Cultivating Unreality" (Helena K. Sarkio); "Copycats, Conspirators and Bigots: Themes in Southern, Northern and Western Newspaper Editorial Portrayals of the Black Church-Burning Crisis" (Sharon Bramlett-Solomon); "Pointing Fingers: Victim Blaming and News Coverage of African-Americans, Health and Public Policy in Two Major Metropolitan Newspapers" (Nicole Myeshia Mikel); "Race and the Praxis of Crime Reporting: A Narrative Paradigm for Portrayals of Deviance" (Craig Maier and Maggie Patterson); "Diversity in Local Television News: A Clogged Pipeline?" (Terry Anzur, Sheila Murphy and Mieke Schechter); "Television Network Diversity Deals and Citizen Group Action in 21st Century Broadcasting Policy" (George L. Daniels); "A Case Study of the Bush and Gore Web Sites 'En Espanol': Building Identification with Hispanic Voters During the 2000 New Hampshire Primary and Iowa Caucuses" (Maria E. Len-Rios); "Justifying the FCC's Minority Preference Policies" (Seung Kwan Ryu); "Media Messages and the Thin Standard: Are African-American Women Receiving the Same Messages?" (Laura I. Collier); and "What a Difference a Channel Makes: Commercial Images in General Market v. Spanish-Language Television" (Jami Armstrong Fullerton and Alice Kendrick). (RS)

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GENDER STEREOTYPES AND RACE IN MUSIC VIDEOS: CULTIVATING UNREALITY

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Gender Stereotypes and Race in Music Videos: Cultivating Unreality

Introduction

> Television is the source of the most broadly shared images and messages in history. It is the mainstream of the common symbolic environment into which our children are born and in which we all live out our lives. Its mass ritual shows no signs of weakening and its consequences are increasingly felt around the globe. For most viewers, new types of delivery systems such as cable, satellite, and VCRs signal even deeper penetration and integration of the dominant patterns of images and messages into everyday life (Gerbner et al. 17).

The objective of this research project is to contribute to the understanding of how exposure to music videos can cultivate their viewers' conceptions of Caucasian and African-American women and men. Music videos are designed to be watched by large, heterogeneous audiences in a nonselective way over extended periods of time. Decisions to view them depend mostly on the time of day rather than on preference for specific music video programs.

This project demonstrates why it is consequential to discover how the portrayals of Caucasian and African-American women and men in music videos differ from each other. Even though research on the possible cultivation phenomenon of gender stereotypes in television began in the early seventies, comparisons between Caucasian and African-American women and men have rarely been explored in the same study, despite the fact that racial stereotypes are closely linked with gender stereotypes. Further, gender stereotypes in music videos have not received much research focus after the nascent charge to examine music videos in the early and mid-eighties.

This project also illustrates why gender stereotypes of Caucasian and African-American women and men in music videos need to be explored; the majority of music video viewers are teenagers whose conceptions of Caucasian and African-American women and men might be freely cultivated in one direction or another. This is a consequential direction of research at a

time when teenage culture is extending along never before seen dimensions. In addition, even though the exploration of gender stereotypes on television is not new, this study bestows a novel viewpoint by including the theoretical discussion so often lacking from content analysis studies of gender stereotypes. A premier manifestation of this viewpoint is the fashioning of hypotheses based on previous literature, a commonly lacking aspect of content analysis studies on gender stereotypes.

Literature Review

Cultivation Theory

Cultivation research examines the extent to which television shapes its audience's perception of reality. Although other media can be studied from the cultivation perspective, in the United States the focus has been on television because it is "the country's most pervasive cultural institution and most visible disseminator of cultural symbols" (Morgan and Shanahan 3). When cultivation research first emerged, it was closely identified with the issue of violence, but over the years the topics of cultivation research have varied from sex roles to science and health related issues (2). Replications of cultivation research have been carried out in various countries (2): "Although there is some disagreement in the field of communication regarding the validity of cultivation findings, cultivation theory is arguably among the most important contributions yet made to general public understanding of media effects" (2).

Originally, Gerbner conceived cultivation research as a three-pronged research strategy. That approach is utilized in the present project as well, and the present paper presents the first of the strategies. However, the order of the strategies is different from the order of the strategies Gerbner created. Whereas Gerbner started with the *institutional process analysis*, followed by the *message system analysis*, this project starts with the *message system analysis* followed by the *institutional process analysis*. Gerbner's final strategy, the *cultivation analysis*, will be the final strategy of this project, also. The author of the present project asserts that it is logical to start with examining the most stable, pervasive and recurrent images of Caucasian and African-

American women and men in music videos instead of starting with an exploration of the systematic pressures and constraints that affect how those images are selected, produced and distributed, because "content analysis is a necessary first step in establishing what a medium's effects might be" (Brown and Campbell 96). Furthermore, the author of this paper asserts that the images under study need to be thoroughly examined before their origins can be fully explored. Consequently, this paper is an inquisition of the most stable, pervasive and recurrent images of Caucasian and African-American women and men in music videos. The *institutional process analysis* and the *cultivation analysis* will be undertaken as this project develops.

Over the years, the cultivation perspective has been oversimplified. Gerbner's original goal was "to develop an approach to mass communication distinct from the then-dominant paradigm of persuasion and propaganda research and to escape the scientism and positivism of the 'effects' tradition" (Morgan and Shanahan 4). However, he also felt that the critical approach associated with the Frankfurt School exaggerated the influence the media have on audiences' perceptions of reality. According to Gerbner, "Messages imply propositions, assumptions, and points of view that are understandable only in terms of the social relationships and contexts in which they are produced" (4). In addition, according to Gerbner, messages also reconstitute those relationships and contexts, so they therefore also sustain the structures and practices that produce them (4). From this arises Gerbner's original meaning of cultivation; "the process within which interaction through messages shapes and sustains the terms on which the messages are premised" (5). Mass communication therefore propagates cultural and political power by creating the messages that cultivate collective consciousness (5).

Moreover, Gerbner attributes cultivation to the nature of television content (i.e. stereotypical and repetitive images that reflect conventional values, beliefs and behaviors) and to the nature of the television audience, whose members habitually watch television, not television programs (Ogles 44-45). This is a considerable assumption in this study, as the emphasis of the *message system analysis* is on the overall pattern of the most stable, pervasive and recurrent

images of Caucasian and African-American women and men in music videos, not on the most stable, pervasive and recurrent images of Caucasian and African-American women and men in specific music video programs. Correspondingly, cultivation theory does not deny that programs, channels and genres differ, or that viewing can be selective, but it sees these issues separate from the questions explored through cultivation research (6). It can also be argued that the developments of such alternative delivery systems as cable television and VCR, even though seemingly diversity-inducing, can actually decrease diversity because they also decrease diversity in ownership and increase concentration and commercialization of production and control. All told, "The cultivation project is an attempt to say something about the more broad-based, ideological consequences of a commercially supported cultural industry celebrating consumption, materialism, individualism, power, and the status quo along lines of gender, race, class, and age" (7).

These notions in turn reflect and define some values and perspectives while marginalizing and neglecting others (34). Gerbner by no means argues that television is the only or most powerful influence on people, but he does maintain that it is the most common, the most pervasive and the most widely shared influence, and that it can therefore have far-reaching implications for social policy (34). "Most important, the basic task of cultivation research is still to keep track of the cultural indicators that are relevant to social policy making" (38).

Stereotypes

In his 1922 book *Public Opinion*, Lippman emphasized the commonsense aspect of stereotypes as well as their capacity to legitimize the status quo. According to Lippman, stereotypes are "pictures in our heads" that have both a cognitive and an affective component:

> (Stereotyping) is not merely a way of substituting order for the great blooming, buzzing confusion of reality. It is not merely a shortcut. It is all these things and more. It is a guarantee of our self-respect; it is the projection upon the world of

> our own sense of value, our own position and our own rights. The stereotypes are, therefore, highly charged with feelings that are attached to them (63-64).

To wit, according to Lippman, stereotypes are cognitive representations of another group that influence our feelings toward members of that group. In *Public Opinion*, Lippman also characterized stereotypes as being selective, self-fulfilling and ethnocentric. According to him, they constitute a very partial, incomplete, inadequate and biased way of representing the world.

Lippman's definition of a stereotype is the one most often used by mass communication scholars. This definition becomes clearer by adding the aspects of stereotypes purported by Hewstone and Brown:

> 1. Often individuals are categorized, usually on the basis of easily identifiable characteristics such as sex or ethnicity.
>
> 2. A set of attributes is ascribed to all (or most) members of that category. Individuals belonging to the stereotyped group are assumed to be similar to each other, and different from other groups, on this set of attributes.
>
> 3. The set of attributes is ascribed to any individual member of that category (29).

The combination of these two definitions of a stereotype is the one utilized to define stereotypes in this study. Hence, in this study, stereotypes provide the content of the social categories into which the portrayals of Caucasian and African-American women and men are placed.

Gender Stereotypes on Television

Content analyses of stereotyped gender roles on television are myriad. Collectively, these analyses indicate that;

1. Males are more often shown in high status jobs.
2. Females are more often shown in stereotypical jobs (e.g., secretary, nurse).
3. Married females who work are more likely than non-working females to be unhappy.
4. Males are more violent than females.
5. Females are more often victims.

6. Females display more emotion.

7. Males are more goal-oriented (Reep and Dambrot 542).

A more in-depth exploration into some of the content analytic research on gender stereotypes on television reveals more of the same results. One of the most consistent findings is the percentage by which men outnumber women on television; 68% of the major characters in adult television programs are men (Williams 267). Even though there is some variation in the ratio of women to men according to the type of program involved, women never exceed men (267). Altogether, there are more than twice as many male as female characters on television (267).

Based on a comprehensive literature review, the gender role stereotypes on television can be divided into these five categories created by Williams:

1. Occupational stereotypes. (i.e. Women on television are employed less often than men and less often than women in real life. Women on television are employed primarily in clerical, nursing, entertainment and service jobs. Men on television are employed mostly as physicians, lawyers, law enforcement officers and managers. Men are also portrayed in a wider range of occupations than women. In addition, men are less likely to be supervised than women.)

2. Family stereotypes. (i.e. Family and personal relationships on television are more important for women than they are for men. Women's marital status is indicated more frequently on television than men's marital status. Women's conversations on television tend to focus on family, romantic, health and domestic issues, whereas men's conversations on television tend to focus on professional and business concerns. Men on television are often without family connections but rarely without a career, whereas women on television are rarely without personal ties but often without a career.)

3. Stereotypes about personality characteristics and social interaction. (i.e. Women are less likely than men to be portrayed as bad and aggressive, but more likely than men to be

portrayed as victims. Women are also more likely to be portrayed as emotional, predictable, clean, good, nonviolent, sexually attractive, interesting and warm, whereas men are more likely to be portrayed as unemotional, dishonest, immoral, bad, violent and competent.)

4. Stereotypes about everyday behaviors. (i.e. Women on television are portrayed as doing more entertaining, preparing and serving food and performing indoor housework than men. Women on television also do less driving, participating in sports, conducting of business on the phone, drinking and smoking, and they are also less likely to use firearms than men.)

5. Victimization. (i.e. Women are less likely than men on television to be aggressive and violent, but they are more likely to be victims. Single women on television are victimized more than married or coupled women.) (268-71).

The above-discussed content analyses on gender stereotypes on television have not differentiated between the sub-groups of Caucasians and African-Americans. Because it is assumed that most of the characters on television are Caucasian, it is also assumed that most of the gender stereotypes on television are based on Caucasian women and men. Indeed, to the degree that the author knows, no studies comparing gender stereotypes of African-American women and men on television exist. The only literature available on gender stereotypes of African-Americans on television pertains to African-American women only, and even that is insufficient. The following is a discussion on the gender stereotypes of African-American women on television.

> Many of the first widely accepted and culturally diffused images of Black American women emerged from the American South. . . . In essence, Black women were defined as wanting of all sexual advances because their libido and passionate natures demanded satiation. . . . Mammy is the woman who could do

anything and do it better than anyone else. She is an emotional pillar, always available to the master's family in times of need (Hudson 243-44).

Quintessentially, the gender stereotypes of African-American women on television can be divided into three categories described by Hudson:

1. Mammy. (i.e. The woman who could do anything and do it better than anyone else. Also the emotional pillar, the friend, the advisor and the mother. Mammy is obese, has a dark complexion and large breasts and buttocks. Mammy is considered asexual and unattractive and therefore not a threat to Caucasian women.)

2. Jezebel. (i.e. Jezebel is considered a sexual threat by Caucasian women and sexually threatening to Caucasian men. Jezebel is sensual to the extreme, exotic looking and erotic. Jezebel is also linked with the idea of extreme fertility.)

3. Sapphire. (i.e. Sapphire both repudiates and embraces the Mammy and the Jezebel images. She is devoid of maternal compassion and understanding, she is asexual and she necessitates the presence of an African-American man. Often, Sapphire is portrayed as a domineering African-American woman who consumes African-American men by emasculating them. Sapphire in unattractive by conventional standards.) (243-47).

Gender Stereotypes in Music Videos

"Music videos are more than a fad, more than fodder for spare hours and dollars of young consumers. They are pioneers in video expression, and the results of their reshaping of the form extend far beyond the TV set" (Aufderheide 57). According to Aufderheide, gender stereotypes in music videos are tumultuous. The male stereotypes include images of sailors, thugs, gang members and gangsters, while the female stereotypes include images of prostitutes, nightclub performers, goddesses, temptresses and servants (70). Also according to him, gender stereotypes in music videos function differently from gender stereotypes on television in general; in music videos there is hardly any contact between women and men and the gender role is an identity fashioned from the outside in (70).

Vincent, Davis and Boruszkowski also maintain that gender stereotypes are present in music videos:

> In the videos examined it was very common for women to be used exclusively as decorative objects. In these productions women are often portrayed as background decoration, clad in bathing suits, underclothing or highly seductive clothing. They are shown in sexually alluring dance. . . . Sexism is perpetuated quite effectively through the way the women of rock videos are dressed (754).

Otherwise, Vincent, Davis and Boruszkowski maintain that one of the most commonly portrayed rites of passage in music videos involves the development of a heterosexual relationship, and that these relationships almost always develop in a recreational setting such as a concert, a carnival or a dance (941). According to them, it is of consequence to note that the depictions of gender roles in music videos are traditional in the sense that the women are portrayed as submissive and passive, yet sensual and physically attractive, and that they are the ones being romantically pursued (941). Furthermore, Vincent, Davis and Boruszkowski also raise an interesting point by stating that even though the music video industry prides itself on its progressive attitudes, it perpetuates some direly traditional social norms (941). Finally, in a succeeding study by Vincent alone, the results indicated that while the portrayal of women in music videos remains submissive, passive and physically attractive, there is an increasing trend in the use of lingerie and nudity (159).

Accompanying Aufderheide, as well as Vincent, Davis and Boruszkowski, varied other studies also augment the body of literature that discusses gender stereotypes in music videos. According to Baxter et al., music video sexual content is "understated, relying on innuendo through clothing, suggestiveness and light physical contact rather than more overt behaviors" (336). Baxter et al. propose that music videos have this decidedly adolescent orientation because of their intended audience; "fantasy exceeds experience and sexual expression centers primarily

on attracting the opposite sex" (336). Furthermore, Baxter et al.'s research also shows that Caucasian men appear in 96% of the music videos (340).

In yet another study on gender stereotypes in music videos, Seidman concludes that almost two thirds (64%) of the characters in music videos are male and slightly more than one third (36%) are female (211). The characters that appeared in the music videos were those of military personnel, blue collar, white collar, entertainers, miscellaneous, dancers, athletes and parents (211). Occupational roles thought of stereotypically as male roles were portrayed by men and the occupational roles thought of stereotypically as female roles were portrayed by women (211-12). Furthermore, more than one third of the women in this study wore revealing clothing, while only 4% of the men did so (213). This study also explored the affective behaviors of the women and men in music videos, revealing that men are more aggressive, domineering, violent and victimizing than women, and that women are more affectionate than men:

> It is important to note that MTV, in general, portrayed males as more adventuresome, aggressive, and domineering, and females as more affectionate, nurturing, dependent, and fearful, because such stereotypically masculine characteristics are considered more positively than are feminine traits in American society (215).

Finally, it is consequential again to note that, like the research on gender stereotypes on television, the research on gender stereotypes in music videos has not differentiated between the sub-groups of Caucasians and African-Americans. It is again assumed that because most of the characters in music videos have tended to be Caucasian, most of the gender stereotypes in music videos are also based on Caucasian women and men. The limited discussion available on gender stereotypes of African-Americans is once again limited to African-American women only. According to Edwards, the image of the African-American woman in music videos is on the one hand potent and powerful, but on the other hand also sexual; that of the "exotic, hot mamas ready

to get it on at the drop of a hat" (220). Edwards suggests that this stereotype has to do with the nature of the medium of the music video:

> It shouldn't be surprising that if black women are absent or diminished in other areas of media, they would be in full titillating view in the one medium that gives free rein to male fantasies, for music videos are nothing if not the technological expression of sexual as well as romantic fantasy. And the flip side of the image of black woman as mammy has always been black woman as whore, an image that video producers have updated for a technicolor computer age (220).

It is also noteworthy, as Edwards points out, to grasp the physical images of African-American women that music videos exert: Most African-American women in music videos are light-skinned and longhaired, and look more European than Negroid (220).

Hypotheses

Based on the preceding literature review, this study will test the subsequent hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: Most music video story lines on BET, MTV and VH1 involve the development of a heterosexual relationship.

Hypothesis 2: Most music video story lines on BET, MTV and VH1 are sexually suggestive in nature.

Hypothesis 3: The presence of men in music videos on BET, MTV and VH1 is higher than the presence of women in music videos on BET, MTV and VH1.

Hypothesis 4: Men in music videos on BET, MTV and VH1 are portrayed as more aggressive and violent than women in music videos on BET, MTV and VH1.

Hypothesis 5: Women in music videos on BET, MTV and VH1 are portrayed as victims more often than men in music videos on BET, MTV and VH1.

Hypothesis 6: Women in music videos on BET, MTV and VH1 are rated as more physically attractive than men in music videos on BET, MTV and VH1.

Hypothesis 7: Women in music videos on BET, MTV and VH1 are portrayed more sexually, and dressed more suggestively, than men in music videos on BET, MTV and VH1.

Hypothesis 8: Women in music videos on BET, MTV and VH1 are portrayed as submissive and passive, whereas men in music videos on BET, MTV and VH1 are portrayed as domineering and active.

Hypothesis 9: Women in music videos on BET, MTV and VH1 are portrayed as emotional, affectionate and good, whereas men in music videos on BET, MTV and VH1 are portrayed as unemotional, unaffectionate and bad.

Hypothesis 10: Caucasian women in music videos on BET, MTV and VH1 are rated as more physically attractive than African-American women in music videos on BET, MTV and VH1.

Hypothesis 11: African-American women in music videos on BET, MTV and VH1 are portrayed as more domineering and active than Caucasian women in music videos on BET, MTV and VH1.

Hypothesis 12: African-American women in music videos on BET, MTV and VH1 are portrayed more sexually, and dressed more suggestively, than Caucasian women in music videos on BET, MTV and VH1.

Method

Sampling

This study used a purposive sample of 200 music videos with either a Caucasian or an African-American lead singer or a music group which has either a Caucasian or an African-American lead vocalist. This number is believed to be the minimum number of units of analysis needed for the desired statistical power. The use of a purposive sample is justified by the fact that obtaining all of the members of the total population of music videos is not feasible. In addition, it was not necessary to utilize stratification based on specific music video programs because, as

stated earlier, music video viewing decisions are based more on the time of the day than on specific programs, and because cultivation theory is based on the assumption that the exposure to the total pattern of gender stereotypes is more momentous than the exposure to any specific program.

Music videos with a lead singer of other than Caucasian or African-American racial heritage, or a music group which has a lead vocalist of any other race than Caucasian or African-American were not included in this sample. Likewise, music videos of live performances which did not contain story lines were not accepted for the sample, either. Such videos do not attempt to portray women or men in settings or situations from which interpretations relating to gender roles could be determined.

The sample was obtained from Black Entertainment Television (BET), Music Television (MTV) and VH1. These three channels were selected because they are the most prominent channels that present music videos and because they are presupposed to denote four diversified musical styles: BET represents rap and r&b, MTV represents pop and VH1 represents rock. This variance in musical styles was meaningful because the degree of gender stereotyping in music videos was presumed to be linked to the sundry musical styles they represent. The music videos were compiled during the hours on which most music video programming is presented; from four in the afternoon until eight at night.

The sample was obtained during January 2000. It included 100 music videos from BET, 71 music videos from VH1 and 29 music videos from MTV. The inconsistency in the representation of the three different channels, even though anticipated, could not be avoided because BET presents its viewers with considerably more music video programming than its counterparts. It should also be noted that the amount of music video programming on MTV is

minimal and that all three of the channels included in the study replay music videos at a high rate.[1]

Of the 200 music videos in the study, 42.5% represented rap music, 26% represented pop music, 18% represented rock music and 13.5% represented r&b music. This is noteworthy because it indicates that currently, rap music videos are the most predominant music videos on television. As is apparent in Table 1, this is also the case on MTV even though it is not a channel that presents primarily rap music videos per se.

Table 1. What type of music is presented on BET, MTV and VH1

Channel	**pop**	**rap**	**r&b**	**rock**	**row total**
BET	6	74	20		100
MTV	8	10	4	7	29
VH1	38	1	3	29	71
column total	52	85	27	36	200
	26%	42.5%	13.5%	18%	100%

n = 200

For the actual unit of analysis of this study, the sampling resulted in 151 male characters and 49 female characters. Furthermore, 129 of the characters were African-American and 71 of the characters were Caucasian. The gender breakdown is congruous with antecedent studies of gender stereotyping on television, but the racial breakdown is presumably due to the fact that the majority of the music videos are from BET, a channel that is essentially intended for African-Americans and the fact that even on MTV and VH1, a remarkable number of the characters are African-American. A subsequent breakdown of the sub-groups is supplied in Table 2.

Finally, it is interesting to note that men outnumber women in all of the four distinct musical styles and that African-Americans outnumber Caucasians in rap and r&b music while Caucasians outnumber African-Americans in pop and rock music.

[1] Recurring music videos were not included in this study.

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Table 2. Gender and racial breakdown of the characters

Gender	Caucasian	African-American	row total
female	16	33	49
male	55	96	151
column	71	129	200
total	35.5%	64.5%	100%

n = 200

Coding

In this study, the data must be in the form of frequencies of the various portrayals of Caucasian and African-American women and men in music videos. Since such frequencies did not already exist, this study used a content analysis of a sample of music videos to obtain them. Albeit most content analysis studies examining gender stereotypes on television use occupational roles, family relationships and every day behaviors such as cooking and driving as some of their coding categories, they were deleted from this study because music videos, due to the nature of their audience, rarely include job, home or family-related themes in their story lines. Moreover, because music video sexual content tends to rely on innuendo and light physical contact rather than more overt behaviors, the sexual suggestiveness, rather than the sexual content of the music videos, was coded.

It should also be noted that only the lead singer or the lead vocalist of a music group, and their movements and actions, were coded. If a lead vocalist could not be determined, one of the members of a music group was designated for coding at random. The composite intercoder reliability score, calculated with a Scott's pi, resulted in an 82% agreement among the two coders.

Operationalization of Variables

CHARACTER CODING

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1. gender: 1 FEMALE, 2 MALE

2. race: 1 CAUCASIAN, 2 AFRICAN-AMERICAN

3. VERY UNAGGRESSIVE — VERY AGGRESSIVE
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

4. VERY NONVIOLENT — VERY VIOLENT
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

5. VERY UNVICTIMIZED — VERY VICTIMIZED
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

6. VERY UNATTRACTIVE — VERY ATTRACTIVE
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

7. VERY UNFIT — VERY FIT
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

8. VERY DECENTERED FROM THE OTHER CHARACTERS' ATTENTION — VERY CENTERED AS THE OTHER CHARACTERS' ATTENTION
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

9. VERY UNSEXUAL — VERY SEXUAL
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

10. VERY UNSEXUAL CLOTHING — VERY SEXUAL CLOTHING
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

11. VERY SUBMISSIVE — VERY DOMINEERING
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

12. VERY PASSIVE — VERY ACTIVE
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

13. VERY UNEMOTIONAL — VERY EMOTIONAL
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

14. VERY UNAFFECTIONATE — VERY AFFECTIONATE
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

15. VERY BAD — VERY GOOD
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

GENERAL VIDEO CODING

16. heterosexual relationship: 1 PRESENT, 2 NOT PRESENT

17. VERY UNSEXUAL — VERY SEXUAL
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

18. VERY UNSEXUAL CLOTHING VERY SEXUAL CLOTHING
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

(Signorielli, McLeod and Healy 95)

Results

Hypothesis 1: Most music video story lines on BET, MTV and VH1 involve the development of a heterosexual relationship.

To test this hypothesis, an elementary frequency of the variable that determines whether a music video has a "relationship present or relationship not present" was employed. Of the 200 music videos sampled, 50.5% did not have a heterosexual relationship present and 49.5% had a heterosexual relationship present. This outcome is very distinct from the preceding findings by Vincent, Davis and Boruszkowski, according to which most music video story lines do comprise the development of a heterosexual relationship (941).

That only approximately half of the music videos in the current sample have a heterosexual relationship present can be due to the fact that since Vincent, Davis and Boruszkowski did the principal part of their work in 1987, music videos have transformed eminently. When music videos first came out in the early eighties they had unmistakable story lines, but many contemporary music videos have repudiated story lines in favor of elaborate dance routines and extravagant party scenes. In addition, because rap music videos are the leading music videos on television currently, and because rap music lyrics tend to be less romantic than pop, rock and r&b music lyrics, story lines with heterosexual relationships might be less prominent.

Hypothesis 2: Most music video story lines on BET, MTV and VH1 are sexually suggestive in nature.

To test this hypothesis, two elementary frequencies were once more employed, one for the variable that measures how sexual or unsexual a music video's story line is and one for the variable that measures how sexual or unsexual the clothing on a music video is. On a scale from

(1) "very unsexual" to (8) "very sexual," most of the music video story lines, 55.5%, were coded as being a five or higher, whereas 44.5% of the music video story lines were coded as being a four or lower. Moreover, on the same scale, 55.5% of the music videos were coded as a five or higher also on how sexual or unsexual the clothing on the music video is, while 44.5% of the music videos were coded as being a four or lower. It is postulated that more music videos were not coded as being very sexual or as having very sexual clothing because most of the characters on the music videos were men. The details of these frequencies are conferred in Table 3.

Table 3. How sexual the story lines of the music videos are and how sexual the clothing on the music videos is

Value Label		**Story Line**	**Clothing**
very unsexual	1	30.5%	32.0%
	2	7.5%	7.5%
	3	4.0%	3.0%
	4	2.5%	2.0%
	5	10.5%	7.5%
	6	7.0%	8.5%
	7	15.5%	14.0%
very sexual	8	22.5%	25.5%
column total		100.0%	100.0%

Hypothesis 3: The presence of men in music videos on BET, MTV and VH1 is higher than the presence of women in music videos on BET, MTV and VH1.

A simple frequency reveals that this hypothesis is supported. While 75.5% of the characters in the music videos in the sample are men, only 24.5% of them are women. This result is very comparable to that found by Williams; according to her, men outnumber women on television to the point that there are more than twice as many male than female characters present (267). Likewise, this result also supports Seidman's work, which concluded that almost two

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thirds of the characters in music videos are men and slightly more than one third of the characters in music videos are women (211).

Hypothesis 4: Men in music videos on BET, MTV and VH1 are portrayed as more aggressive and violent than women in music videos on BET, MTV and VH1.

This hypothesis was tested with two t-tests for independent samples. While the t-test testing the level of aggressiveness between the female and male characters did not exhibit a significant difference between the two means, the t-test testing the level of violence between the female and male characters did so (Tables 4 and 5).

Table 4. T-test for difference in portrayed aggression by gender

Gender	Number of Cases	Mean	SD	df	2-Tail Sig.
female	49	3.55	2.615	198	.120
male	151	4.09	2.426		
column total	200	3.82			

n = 200

Table 5. T-test for difference in portrayed violence by gender

Gender	Number of Cases	Mean	SD	df	2-Tail Sig.
female	49	1.27	.930	151	.001
male	151	1.65	1.690		
column total	200	1.46			

n = 200

Contrary to expectations, the female characters in the music videos sampled were almost as aggressive as the male characters. This can be due to the fact that only the lead singers or lead vocalists of music groups were coded for. Because they are the principal characters of the videos, they also tend to be the most aggressive characters. If the background characters of the music videos had been coded as well, the number of the female characters would have increased and the aggressiveness level of female characters would have decreased because most of the background characters in the music videos are unaggressive females. In addition, as expected,

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the male characters in the music videos sampled were portrayed as more violent than the female characters. The recipients of this violence were often the female characters of the music videos, a phenomenon which is straightly connected to the ensuing hypothesis.

Hypothesis 5: Women in music videos on BET, MTV and VH1 are portrayed as victims more often than men in music videos on BET, MTV and VH1.

This hypothesis was also tested with a t-test for independent samples. The contrast between the means of the female and male characters was significant, displaying that while the female characters in the music videos sampled were depicted as victims most of the time, the male characters were infrequently depicted in such fashion (Table 6). This is not unexpected, inasmuch as that the male characters were also depicted as more violent than the female characters.

Table 6. T-test for difference in portrayed level of victimization by gender

Gender	Number of Cases	Mean	SD	df	2-Tail Sig.
female	49	6.20	2.327	66	.002
male	151	1.53	1.724		
column total	200	3.87			

n = 200

Hypothesis 6: Women in music videos on BET, MTV and VH1 are rated as more physically attractive and fit than men in music videos on BET, MTV and VH1.

To test this hypothesis, three t-tests for independent samples were employed. Distinctly, all of them showed significant differences between the means of the female and male characters regarding how attractive, fit and centered as the other characters' attention they were (Tables 7, 8 and 9). On a scale from (1) "very unattractive" to (8) "very attractive," the mean of the female characters was 5.39 while the mean of the male characters was 3.12. Analogously, on a scale from (1) "very unfit" to (8) "very fit," the mean of the female characters was 5.37 while the mean of the male characters was 3.28. Notwithstanding the data of these two t-tests, however, the male

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characters were essentially depicted as the centers of the other characters' attention while the female characters were essentially depicted as decentered from the other characters' attention. Even though this result was predicted, it still seems inconsistent because in reality, attractive and fit people are generally the centers of other people's attention.

Table 7. T-test for difference in rated attractiveness by gender

Gender	Number of Cases	Mean	SD	df	2-Tail Sig.
female	49	5.39	2.090	65	.002
male	151	3.12	1.518		
column total	200	4.26			

n = 200

Table 8. T-test for difference in rated fitness by gender

Gender	Number of Cases	Mean	SD	df	2-Tail Sig.
female	49	5.37	2.089	68	.010
male	151	3.28	1.613		
column total	200	4.33			

n = 200

Table 9. T-test for difference in portrayed "center-of-attentioness" by gender

Gender	Number of Cases	Mean	SD	df	2-Tail Sig.
female	49	2.24	1.283	175	.000
male	151	6.11	2.781		
column total	200	4.18			

n = 200

The more latent content behind the numbers measuring how attractive and fit the characters on the music videos are is remarkably absorbing. It is evident, based on the foregoing t-tests, that the female characters on music videos are much more attractive and fit than their male counterparts. What is not evident based on the t-tests, however, is how unattractive and

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unfit the male characters are vis-a-vis their female counterparts. While both the Caucasian and African-American women on the music videos are extremely attractive, both the Caucasian and African-American men on the music videos are predominantly average looking or even remarkably unattractive. Whereas the female characters are slim and fit, the male characters are often overweight and only seldom fit. Some of the male characters on the music videos have missing teeth, acne and they wear braces. One of the music videos in the sample even features a male character that weighs over 600 pounds. In addition, it is noteworthy to remark that the African-American female characters on the music videos are lighter-skinned, longer-haired and have more Caucasian facial features than their counterparts in reality do.

Hypothesis 7: Women in music videos on BET, MTV and VH1 are portrayed more sexually, and dressed more suggestively, than men in music videos on BET, MTV and VH1.

This hypothesis was again tested with two t-tests for independent samples. They revealed that the female characters in the music videos sampled were portrayed as more sexual and dressed more suggestively than the male characters (Tables 10 and 11). These findings are parallel to a previous study done by Vincent, Davis and Boruszkowski, according to which women are often "clad in bathing suits, underclothing or highly seductive clothing" (754). In an additional study by Vincent alone, the female characters were found to be physically attractive and there was an augmenting direction in the use of lingerie and nudity.

Table 10. T-test for difference in portrayed sexuality by gender

Gender	Number of Cases	Mean	SD	df	2-Tail Sig.
female	49	6.14	2.198	71	.012
male	151	1.86	1.833		
column total	200	4.00			

n = 200

As with the preceding hypothesis, the more latent content behind the numbers measuring how sexually the characters are portrayed and how suggestively they are dressed is remarkably

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Table 11. T-test for difference in suggestive dressing by gender

Gender	Number of Cases	Mean	SD	df	2-Tail Sig.
female	49	6.16	2.211	70	.008
male	151	1.85	1.825		
column total	200	4.01			

n = 200

absorbing. Both the Caucasian and African-American female characters on the music videos sampled are depicted as extremely sexual compared to the Caucasian and African-American male characters. Forasmuch as the male characters on the music videos are generally wearing ordinary, full sets of clothes, the female characters are under-clothed to the point that in some instances their chest and pelvic areas have to be obscured so as to not display nudity. The female characters' sexuality is also portrayed through poses, facial expressions, dance moves and camera shots that focus on the chest and pelvic areas.

At last, there is a division between how the sexuality of the Caucasian female characters is depicted compared to the sexuality of the African-American female characters. Whereas the Caucasian female characters are depicted as almost chaste in their sexuality, the African-American female characters are portrayed as recklessly enthusiastic to please men. This is implicative of what has been previously pointed out by Edwards, according to whom African-American women in music videos are portrayed as "exotic, hot mamas ready to get it on at the drop of a hat" (220).

Hypothesis 8: Women in music videos on BET, MTV and VH1 are portrayed as submissive and passive, whereas men in music videos on BET, MTV and VH1 are portrayed as domineering and active.

To test this hypothesis, two t-tests for independent samples were again applied. They both support the hypothesis that in music videos, women are depicted as submissive and passive while men are depicted as domineering and active (Tables 12 and 13). A plethora of this has to

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do with the preceding hypothesis dealing with sexuality, because these attributes are often portrayed through sexually submissive and passive women who are at the mercy of sexually domineering and active men. This occurrence was also manifest in an earlier work done by Vincent, Davis and Boruszkowski, according to whom women in music videos are depicted as submissive and passive and as the ones being romantically pursued (941).

Table 12. T-test for difference in portrayed domination by gender

Gender	Number of Cases	Mean	SD	df	2-Tail Sig.
female	49	5.33	2.384	60	.000
male	151	6.54	1.450		
column total	200	5.94			

n = 200

Table 13. T-test for difference in portrayed activity by gender

Gender	Number of Cases	Mean	SD	df	2-Tail Sig.
female	49	5.20	2.406	61	.000
male	151	6.38	1.535		
column total	200	5.80			

n = 200

Hypothesis 9: Women in music videos on BET, MTV and VH1 are portrayed as emotional, affectionate and good, whereas men in music videos on BET, MTV and VH1 are portrayed as unemotional, unaffectionate and bad.

This hypothesis, tested with three t-tests for independent samples, was supported (Tables 14, 15 and 16). As with most of the antecedent literature, in this study the female characters on the music videos were also depicted as emotional, affectionate and good while the male characters were depicted as unemotional, unaffectionate and bad.

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Table 14. T-test for difference in portrayed emotionality by gender

Gender	Number of Cases	Mean	SD	df	2-Tail Sig.
female	49	7.31	.742	192	.000
male	151	3.52	2.884		
column total	200	5.42			

n = 200

Table 15. T-test for difference in portrayed affectionality by gender

Gender	Number of Cases	Mean	SD	df	2-Tail Sig.
female	49	6.90	1.475	130	.000
male	151	2.38	2.338		
column total	200	4.64			

n = 200

Table 16. T-test for difference in portrayed goodness by gender

Gender	Number of Cases	Mean	SD	df	2-Tail Sig.
female	49	7.37	.834	194	.000
male	151	5.26	2.229		
column total	200	6.32			

n = 200

Hypothesis 10: Caucasian women in music videos on BET, MTV and VH1 are rated as more physically attractive and fit than African-American women in music videos on BET, MTV and VH1.

As hypothesis six, this hypothesis was tested with three t-tests for independent samples. However, unlike with hypothesis six, only two of them showed significant differences between the means of the Caucasian and African-American female characters regarding how attractive, fit and centered as the other characters' attention they were (Tables 17, 18 and 19). On a scale from (1) "very unattractive" to (8) "very attractive," the mean of the Caucasian female characters was 7.31 while the mean of the African-American female characters was 4.45. Analogously, on a

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scale from (1) "very unfit" to (8) "very fit," the mean of the Caucasian female characters was 7.31 while the mean of the African-American female characters was 4.42. At last, whereas the third t-test on hypothesis six showed a significant difference between the female and male characters, on this hypothesis it did not show a significant difference between the Caucasian and African-American female characters. Caucasian women are probably not portrayed as the centers of the other characters' attention at a higher rate than African-American women characters are because women in general are not portrayed as the centers of the other characters' attention.

Table 17. T-test for difference in rated attractiveness by race

Race	Number of Cases	Mean	SD	df	2-Tail Sig.
Caucasian	16	7.31	.946	47	.009
African-American	33	4.45	1.839		
column total	49	5.88			

n = 200

Table 18. T-test for difference in rated fitness by race

Race	Number of Cases	Mean	SD	df	2-Tail Sig.
Caucasian	16	7.31	.946	47	.007
African-American	33	4.42	1.821		
column total	49	5.87			

m = 200

Moreover, it is interesting to note that even though the difference is not significant, African-American female characters are portrayed as the centers of the other characters' attention at a higher rate than the Caucasian female characters; this is the same direction of relationship as with hypothesis six, in which the group that was rated as less attractive and fit (male characters) was portrayed as being the center of the other characters' attention.

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Table 19. T-test for difference in portrayed "center-of-attentioness" by race

Race	Number of Cases	Mean	SD	df	2-Tail Sig.
Caucasian	16	1.88	1.088	47	.285
African-American	33	2.42	1.347		
column total	49	2.15			

n = 200

The more latent content associated with this hypothesis is engaging. Considering that the Caucasian women on the music videos are remarkably attractive, and the majority of the African-American women are so as well, still, some of the African-American women are slightly overweight or average looking compared to the rest of the women in the music videos. This is remindful of the former work done by Hudson, according to which some of the stereotypes of African-American women on television include women with large breasts and buttocks and women who are not considered attractive by conventional standards (243-47).

Hypothesis 11: African-American women in music videos on BET, MTV and VH1 are portrayed as more domineering and active than Caucasian women in music videos on BET, MTV and VH1.

This hypothesis was tested with two t-tests for independent samples. Counter to expectations, the African-American female characters in the music videos sampled were not more domineering and active than the Caucasian female characters (Tables 20 and 21). This could be due to the fact that women in general, as is palpable based on the analysis of hypothesis eight, are depicted as submissive and passive, while men are depicted as domineering and active.

Hypothesis 12: African-American women in music videos on BET, MTV and VH1 are portrayed more sexually, and dressed more suggestively, than Caucasian women in music videos on BET, MTV and VH1.

As hypothesis seven, this hypothesis was also tested with two t-tests for independent

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Table 20. T-test for difference in portrayed domination by race

Race	Number of Cases	Mean	SD	df	2-Tail Sig.
Caucasian	16	2.94	1.237	47	.230
African-American	33	6.48	1.889		
column total	49	4.71			

n = 200

Table 21. T-test for difference in portrayed activity by race

Race	Number of Cases	Mean	SD	df	2-Tail Sig.
Caucasian	16	2.81	1.223	47	.108
African-American	33	6.36	1.934		
column total	49	4.59			

n = 200

samples. They revealed that the African-American female characters in the music videos sampled were depicted as more sexual and dressed more suggestively than the Caucasian female characters (Tables 22 and 23).

Table 22. T-test for difference in portrayed sexuality by race

Race	Number of Cases	Mean	SD	df	2-Tail Sig.
Caucasian	16	3.63	1.784	20	.002
African-American	33	7.36	1.025		
column total	49	5.50			

n = 200

Further as with hypothesis seven, the more latent content behind the numbers measuring how sexually the female characters are portrayed and how suggestively they are dressed is

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Table 23. T-test for difference in suggestive dressing by race

Race	Number of Cases	Mean	SD	df	2-Tail Sig.
Caucasian	16	3.63	1.784	20	.002
African-American	33	7.39	1.029		
column total	49	5.51			

n = 200

particularly absorbing. While both the Caucasian and the African-American female characters on music videos are depicted as extremely sexual compared to the male characters, the African-American female characters are depicted as even more sexual than their Caucasian counterparts. Furthermore, while both the Caucasian and African-American female characters on music videos are dressed extremely suggestively compared to the male characters, the African-American female characters are dressed even more suggestively than their Caucasian counterparts. This image of the African-American woman as radically sexual has its roots in the stereotype according to which African-American women want all sexual advances because "their libido and passionate natures" demand "satiation" (Hudson 243-44). The conception of the Jezebel is the crystallization of this stereotype; she is sensual to the extreme, exotic looking and erotic (243-44). According to Edwards, it is not surprising that the stereotype of the Jezebel is predominant in music videos in general because "music videos are nothing if not the technological expression of sexual as well as romantic fantasy. And the flip side of the image of black woman as mammy has always been black woman as whore..." (220).

Discussion

Summary

In an additional analysis, no differences in gender role portrayals were found between pop, rap, r&b and rock music. However, rap music is the most prevailing type of music among the music videos on BET, MTV and VH1. Of course, it can be argued that this is the

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consummation of the copious number of music videos presented on BET on a daily basis, but the counter argument is that for an audience just habitually seeking to watch music videos, not particular music video programs or channels, rap music then becomes the type of music it is principally exposed to.[2] This is the cardinal argument of cultivation theory.

Only 24.5% of the lead singers or lead vocalists of music groups on BET, MTV and VH1 are women. Even though this finding is concordant with foregoing studies on gender stereotyping on television, it does reduce the power of some of the t-tests in this study, particularly the power of the ones where the female characters were broken into categories by race. What is more startling than this finding, however, is the trend that since rap music is the most dominant type of music on BET, MTV and VH1, and since most rap artists are African-American men, most of the lead singers or lead vocalists of music groups on BET, MTV and VH1 are also African-American men. This is a vivid alteration from the 1986 study done by Brown and Campbell, according to which "The lack of black performers on the far more popular MTV may be due to MTV's standards for video quality or their stricter definition of rock music. . . . MTV's decision to play or not play black performers may be more a matter of established popularity among the general audience than of musical definition" (98).

From this arises the question of what kind of an image of the African-American man is depicted in music videos on BET, MTV and VH1? According to the present study, the image of the African-American man in music videos is that of him as violent, often sexually so and often towards women, domineering, unemotional, unaffectionate and bad. Even though there are no statistically significant differences between how Caucasian and African-American men are portrayed in music videos on BET, MTV and VH1, in them, the presence of Caucasian men is so low that this representation of the violent, domineering, unemotional, unaffectionate and bad man is mostly repeated, and therefore cultivated with, the African-American man.

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[2] The mainstream appeal of rap music is apparent with such eminently popular rap artists as Puff Daddy.

The stereotypes of women in music videos on BET, MTV and VH1 are also plainly palpable. First, as broached above, female lead singers and female lead vocalists of music groups are scarce. Second, when women do appear as the lead singers or lead vocalists of music groups, they are frequently victimized and they are portrayed as emotional, affectionate and good. Furthermore, women are also depicted as much more attractive, fit and sexual than men, and they are depicted as being submissive and passive, especially in sexual situations.

On a scale from (1) "very unattractive" to (8) "very attractive," the mean of the female characters was 5.39 while the mean of the male characters was 3.12. Parallel, on a scale from (1) "very unfit" to (8) "very fit," the mean of the female characters was 5.37 while the mean of the male characters was 3.28. Even though these data were predicted, it is still remarkable that the female characters were portrayed as so much more attractive and fit than their male counterparts in music videos on BET, MTV and VH1. These discrepancies in the figures cultivate the notion that while men can be unattractive and unfit, women, in order to be accepted and admired, need to be attractive and fit as well. Moreover, because the female characters in the music videos on BET, MTV and VH1 were also portrayed so much more sexually, and dressed so much more suggestively, than the male characters, music videos also cultivate the notion that only sexual, suggestively dressed women can be accepted and admired.

While the differences between the female and male characters regarding their level of attractiveness, fitness, sexuality and suggestive dressing were particularly immense, the differences between the Caucasian and African-American female characters on the same variables were also noteworthy. On a scale from (1) "very unattractive" to (8) "very attractive," the mean of the Caucasian female characters was 7.31 while the mean of the African-American female characters was 4.45. Corresponding, on a scale from (1) "very unfit" to (8) "very fit," the mean of the Caucasian female characters was 7.31 while the mean of the African-American female characters was 4.42. These figures cultivate two distinct notions; on the one hand, they suggest that African-American women can be accepted and admired without being extremely

attractive and fit while Caucasian women cannot. On the other hand, they also suggest that African-American women's physical characteristics are not considered as attractive and fit as those of Caucasian women's. Maybe that is why the latent content with hypothesis six revealed that the African-American female characters on the music videos are lighter-skinned, longer-haired and have more Caucasian facial features than their counterparts in reality do.

Finally, likewise as with the attractiveness and fitness variables, the means of the Caucasian and African-American female characters varied greatly on the variables measuring sexuality and suggestive dressing. On a scale from (1) "very unsexual" to (8) "very sexual," the mean of the African-American female characters was 7.36 while the mean of the Caucasian female characters was 3.63. Subsequent, on a scale from (1) "very unsexual clothing" to (8) "very sexual clothing," the mean of the African-American female characters was 7.39 while the mean of the Caucasian female characters was 3.63. These figures cultivate the notion that African-American women, in order to be accepted and admired, need to be sexual and dress suggestively while Caucasian women can be and do less so.

The most momentous finding of this study is the fact that both women and men, as well as Caucasians and African-Americans, are depicted in stereotypical ways in music videos on BET, MTV and VH1. While men, in general, are depicted as violent, domineering, active and centers of attention, women are depicted as attractive, fit, sexual, suggestively dressed, emotional, affectionate, good and as victims. Furthermore, while Caucasian women are depicted as more attractive and fit than African-American women, African-American women are depicted as more sexual and suggestively dressed than Caucasian women. These differences further some of the aged stereotypes in television in general and may cultivate teenagers' conceptions of what Caucasian and African-American women and men are like.

Additional Findings

Distinct from the hypothesized findings and coded variables, some additional discoveries were made during the process of coding and analyzing the sample of music videos from BET,

MTV and VH1. As alluded to beforehand, the finding that only 49.5% of the music videos had a heterosexual relationship present is unanticipated. The more latent content of the music videos reveals that this aspect is probably due to the fact that present-day music videos have rejected story lines in favor of ornate dance routines and lavish party scenes. The fact that more music video story lines were not found to be "very sexual" relates to this latent content of the music videos as well; heterosexual relationships are what make a story line sexual, not dance routines or party scenes.

Another additional finding having to do with the latent content of the music videos sampled is that while the male characters were depicted as more violent than the female characters, there was not a significant difference between the female and male characters regarding how aggressively they were depicted. In many instances, the female lead singers or lead vocalists of music groups were portrayed as aggressive; however, the background female characters were depicted as extremely unaggressive. This suggests that when women are the lead singers or lead vocalists of music groups, they are depicted as as aggressive as the men.

The last two additional findings have to do with the portrayal of sexuality in the music videos on BET, MTV and VH1. First, whereas the Caucasian female characters are depicted as almost virginal in their sexuality, the African-American female characters are portrayed as impulsively fervent to please men. These types of portrayals cultivate the notion that Caucasian women's sexuality should be esteemed more than African-American women's sexuality. Also second, in the music videos on BET, MTV and VH1, African-American men's sexuality is possibly portrayed via the possessions they have; extravagant clothes, exorbitant jewelry, luxury cars and even their own airplanes. In some of the videos sampled, the African-American male characters were simply sitting in pools of money. Because these portrayals invariably involve extremely sexually willing women, they possibly cultivate the notion that wealth is what makes an African-American man sexually desirable. Both of these propositions necessitate considerable auxiliary research and should prove to be particularly fruitful and thrilling.

Implications

If only 24.5% of the lead singers or lead vocalists of music groups on the leading music video channels are women, and if those women are frequently victimized and portrayed as much more attractive, fit, sexual and suggestively dressed than men, then those images need to be changed. The same holds true for images that depict women as submissive and passive. In order to raise gender-equal teenagers, realistic portrayals of women need to be constructed; women who are lead singers or lead vocalists of music groups yet who are not extremely attractive, fit, sexual and suggestively dressed. Women also need to be portrayed as active, strong and unvictimized. Realistic portrayals of men need to be constructed as well; men who are not violent, domineering, unemotional, unaffectionate and bad.

Moreover, the stereotype of the Caucasian woman as remarkably thin and exceptionally beautiful, as compared to African-American women, should be abolished and instead women of all colors should be portrayed as equally attractive and fit. Lifting Caucasian women's attractiveness standards above the rest may cause Caucasian teenage girls to be more trenchant of their physical appearance than teenage girls of other racial groups; this is manifest in the fact that Caucasian teenage girls have more eating disorders than African-American teenage girls.

At last, the stereotype of the African-American woman as extremely sexual and suggestively dressed should be abolished as well. Such depictions of African-American women may cause African-American teenage girls to value themselves through their sexuality only, which may furthermore cause them to behave in analogous ways.

Directions for Future Research

Future research should concentrate on expanding the sample size of the female characters, possibly by including some of the background characters of the music videos in the analysis as well. In addition, since this is the pioneer study examining the gender stereotype differences between Caucasian and African-American women in music videos, they need to be tested on other samples of music videos as well.

Ultimately, exploratory research on the gender stereotype differences between Caucasian and African-American men needs to be conducted as well.

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Copycats, Conspirators and Bigots: Themes in Southern, Northern and Western Newspaper Editorial Portrayals of the Black Church-burning Crisis

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Copycats, Conspirators and Bigots: Themes in Southern, Northern and Western Newspaper Editorial Portrayals of the Black Church-burning Crisis

Study Abstract

Between January 1, 1995 and December 1997 at least 142 black churches were set on fire through arson, bombings or attempted bombings. Examination of all church burnings' editorials appearing in the **Lexis Nexis** database and **Editorials on File** over this two-year period, yielded 109 editorials for content analysis. Findings in this preliminary study call into question the assumption of some media critics and scholars who suggest that regional differences exist in southern and northern newspaper portrayals of racial conflicts. Findings indicate popular assumptions about southern press coverage being less reliable and less dependable than northern press coverage of racial issues, such as the black church burnings, may be misleading and unrealistic. Newspapers examined showed there is no monolithic northern nor southern press, but rather coverage in the two regions reflected more similarities than differences. Only two of the 10 questions tested showed significant regional differences between southern and northern newspapers. Findings strongly suggest that editorials should have more clearly defined the "conspiracy" concept to readers since in almost every editorial the idea was vague or opaque, and could exacerbate racial tensions regarding the church burnings.

Copycats, Conspirators and Bigots: Themes in Southern, Northern and Western Newspaper Editorial Portrayals of the Black Church-burning Crisis

Between January 1995 and December 1997 at least 142 black churches were set on fire through arson.[1] The church burnings took place largely in South Carolina, North Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, Virginia, Mississippi, Oklahoma, Texas, Louisiana and Kentucky.[2] Federal law enforcement officials and the U.S. national media began to focus on the church arsons in spring 1996, after their swelling numbers became too difficult and too regional to ignore. Pressure on federal officials to investigate the church burnings came from community leaders, black ministers across the country and several national groups of white ministers.[3]

It took the torching of almost 40 black churches in 11 southern states over an 18-month period to signal a crisis.[4] Although arsons also occurred at some white churches in the same period, what made the white and black church cases distinct is that in most cases investigated whites burned the black churches.[5]

This study examines southern, northern and western newspaper editorial portrayals of the black church burnings to see if treatment differs by region.

Study background

Several commentaries on press coverage of the black church burnings were published during the height of the 1996 rash of burnings. In a journalism review, writer Joe Holley[6] noted that church arsons coverage over a seven-month period evolved through three stages that show how journalists "connected the dots." Holley said in the "trend stage," which was first and lasted almost a month, a number of reporters began to see a pattern in the black church fires — they tended to occur at black churches in the south in isolated or rural areas with most of the arsonists being white. He called the second phase the "major story stage" in which over five months the national media "began connecting the dots and raising the possibility the arsons were fueled by a climate of surging racial animosity or even a nationwide conspiracy of white racist hate groups."[7] Holley said the third stage was a "time of sorting out," in which the press assessed what was going on regarding the arsons. Holley wrote:

The black church-burning story is a textbook example of what can happen, both good and

bad, when journalists are tempted to connect the dots. It's an example of how the media can be distracted, even misled for a while, but given time, are able to right themselves, regain their balance, and tease out the complex truth.[8]

However, several journalists and some black church leaders questioned the accuracy and fairness of the coverage, charging the press with initial indifference to the burnings, with simplistic treatment of a complex story, with stereotyping the arsonists as largely white racists, and with escalating public hysteria by hyping the story as a return to church burnings of the segregation era.[9]

Journalist Ted Bryant, a reporter with the **Birmingham *Post Herald***, criticized the press as moving from "indifference" to "hysteria" regarding the black church arsons, and charged that the press inaccurately promoted stereotypes of the arsonists as white hate mongers. Bryant said the press should have disclosed that arson cases constitute a quarter of the church fires each year. "Churches burn, accidentally as a rule, but about one-fourth of the fires are arson or suspected arson," he wrote. "Sometimes the motive of arsonists is racial, but the purpose may be insurance, striking out at authority, revenge, to cover up a burglary or even a drunken rampage."[10]

Michael Kelly, ***New Yorker*** magazine writer, also noted coverage problems. He said at first reporters paid little attention to the church fires, but later went overboard. Kelly wrote:

In a case of overreaction that seems to have been inspired in roughly equal measure by genuine concern, guilt and self-interests, they leaped on the bandwagon with a near-hysteria as misplaced as their previous indifference.[11]

Detroit *Free Press* religion writer David Crumm also took the press to task. In a September 3, 1996 newspaper article on three 1996 black church burnings near Boligee, Alabama, Crumm said reporters tended to stereotype the arsonists as racist, while ignoring other motives. "Reporters often merely confirmed their own stereotypes of people on quick visits to western Alabama," Crumm wrote. "Most returned to their offices and painted far simpler portraits that often relied heavily on stereotypes supporting the idea that a pack of church-burning racists could be on the loose."[12]

Crumm said generally neglected by the press was coverage of blacks and whites working together to rebuild churches, showing the arsons "spread as much good will as ill will between races in the South."[13]

Press coverage also was criticized by numerous black pastors and black leaders, such as members of the Congressional Black Caucus, who charged that federal investigators were too slow in responding to the arsons and who contended that the press was late picking up the story. Too many black churches burned, they charged, before U.S. journalists showed concern about them or reported patterns in them.[14]

As the black church fires escalated, they sparked fears of a racist conspiracy by white hate groups to destroy black churches. A rash of black church burnings in the south has special historical resonance. Many Americans not only saw the fires as driven by racial hostility, but also as a stark reminder of America's dark 1950s and 1960s racial strife days in which church burnings were a major form of white terrorism against black Americans. During the Civil Rights Movement, scores of black churches, which were the rallying points for civil rights demonstrations, were bombed or set on fire. Then as now, the burnings mostly occurred in the south. Certainly the most notorious church fire of the Civil Rights era occurred in Birmingham in 1963, when fire bombs planted by white racists at the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church killed four black girls attending Sunday school.[15]

Some black leaders, including many black pastors, viewed the black church burnings as simply another attack on black Americans by hostile white racists. "I think they burn black churches because the churches are symbols of our movement, of the struggle for justice," said Dr. Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in Atlanta and also a church pastor. "By bombing black churches they are attacking the soul of the black community."[16]

Across the nation, African Americans tended to see the black church burnings as a symbol and reminder of racism in America or as a sign of deteriorating race relations. This also was the essential message at a race-relations hearing in July 1996 in Memphis, Tennessee in which U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Chairman Mary Frances Berry labeled the black church fires "a wake-up call" for Americans to deal with the nation's delicate race relations issue.[17]

Responding to growing outrage over the church fires, President Bill Clinton in June 1996 called the situation "a black church burning epidemic" and created the National Church Arson Task Force to investigate them.[18] Consisting of members from the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the U.S. Justice Department, it was the largest task

force of federal officials in history. Some 200 federal investigators were mobilized. It was charged with investigating black as well as white church burnings, both of which were occurring at record numbers. In support of the president's initiatives to stem the arsons, Congress passed the *National Church Arsons Prevention Act of 1996*, which increased federal powers to investigate the church burnings and increased jail time for convicted arsonists.[19]

In June 1997, the task force reported to the president that it had investigated 429 church fires that occurred since January 1995, in which 199 persons were arrested.[20] Although the black church burnings did not cease, the task force reported them down 44 percent in 1997 over what they were in 1996 at 48 arsons.[21] A year after widespread federal investigation of the church burnings, Vice President Al Gore met with several groups of church ministers and declared the investigation successful. "The government's forceful response to a nationwide outbreak of church fires was a success," said Gore.[22]

A major question federal officials explored was whether the black church arsons were set by racists, conspirators, copycats or others.[23] Deval Patrick (U.S. Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights in the Justice Department), who headed the church task force, said investigations revealed that race was only one of several causes of the arsons. He said some fires were set by church members trying fraudulently to collect insurance money, some by burglars and some by pyromaniacs. In a handful of cases, he said, the arsonists involved were in hate groups.[24]

Patrick said investigation over a 15-month period found nothing to show there was a national conspiracy targeting black churches. Arsons at white churches, he said, approached the number at black churches. However, Patrick said while no organized conspiracy was found, there existed "an intense climate of racism behind the church fires."[25] U.S. Civil Rights Chairman Mary Frances Berry reported that federal investigations revealed 70 percent of the southern black church fires were racially motivated.[26]

A review of profiles of those arrested, Patrick said, revealed that people who burned southern churches were generally white, male and young, with low income, poorly educated, frequently drunk or high on drugs, rarely affiliated with hate groups, but often deeply driven by racism. Thus, while conspiracy theories were largely debunked by the task force, racist motives were not.[27]

National press attention to the church burnings dramatically increased when two national figures discussed them while in the media spotlight. President Clinton drew media attention as he gave a speech at the site of a burned church in June 1996 in Greelyville, South Carolina, in which he vowed that the church burnings would not be tolerated and would be intensely investigated by federal law enforcement officials. Similarly, Greenbay Packers defensive end Reggie White, associate pastor of the Inner City Church near Knoxville that burned January 8, 1996, garnered national media attention when he talked about his burned church as he prepared for an NFL conference championship game. White told the nation racism was behind the fire at his church as reflected by racist graffiti scrawled on the church doors and walls.

Press coverage intensified as the president's family and vice president Al Gore and family visited several burned churches and participated in rebuilding efforts. An especially endearing occasion for some Americans was the president's August 1996 celebration of his 50th birthday, along with his wife Hilary and daughter Chelsea, at the restoration of a burned church in Fruitland, Tennessee. The president and his family were shown in newspapers across the nation with hammer, nails, bricks, dry wall and other building materials in hand.[28] National press coverage of the black church burnings increased significantly with each of these events.[29] With increased national press attention, stiffer church arson punishment and louder public outcry, the black church arsons began to decline by the end of 1997, after some 15 months of investigations by National Church Arsons Task Force.[30]

In an unprecedented victory for burned black churches, a South Carolina jury in July 1998 ordered the Klu Klux Klan to pay $12.6 million to Macedonia Baptist Church in Clarendon County, charging that the Klan's message of hate incited the burning of the church. A jury of nine blacks and three whites decided the church proved the Klan's rhetoric motivated four Klansmen to set the 1995 fire that destroyed the church.[31]

Press coverage of Americans of color has grown significantly since the pre-civil rights era when the press rarely focused on people of color unless involved in crime news.[32] However, U.S. press treatment of minorities today still draws criticism, most notably with the charge that news media coverage of minorities tends to be too little, too late or too stereotyped.[33]

If we can assume press agenda-setting power and can assume that newspapers reflect the views and values of the social setting in which they are produced,[34] then by examining newspaper editorial coverage of the black church bombings, we can obtain a picture of these values. Moreover, research shows editorial pages continue to draw reader attention and remain vital to newspaper impact on communities. Research shows that editorial page endorsements, despite declining newspaper readership, are still strong contributors to public opinion.[35]

Literature focusing on press coverage of Americans of color reveals that some media scholars have argued that southern compared to northern press coverage of southern racial conflicts will show regional differences.[36] Given that the black church burnings occurred largely in the south, which is popularly portrayed as less racially tolerant than other quarters of the nation, and given that some scholars note regional differences in press coverage of racial issues, it is important to subject these assumptions to systematic investigation.

This study explores whether there were regional differences in how southern, northern and western newspaper editorials portrayed the black church burnings.

Study method

The major research question explored is: **To what extent, if any, did southern, northern and western newspaper editorial portrayals of the black church burnings show regional differences?** The researcher identified 10 major news themes regarding the church burnings commonly reflected in press stories, press editorials and journalism reviews and used them to design a questionnaire to answer the following 10 sub-questions guiding this study. To what extent, if any:

1. Did the editorials condemn the church arsons?
2. Did the editorials assert the church arsons as racially motivated?
3. Did the editorials assert hate-group member involvement in the church arsons?
4. Did the editorials assert conspiracy involved in the church arsons?
5. Did the editorials suggest right-wing influence in the church arsons?
6. Did the editorials mandate punishment for arsonists?
7. Did editorials suggest the church arsons threaten race relations?
8. Did the editorials note historical racial strife?

9. Did the editorials call for racial unity?

10. Did the editorials suggest help to rebuild the churches?

All editorials found in the **Lexis Nexis** database and in **Editorials on File** from January 1995 to December 1997 were included in the content analysis. The newspapers were classified by region and fell into Northern, Southern and Western states. Newspapers were classified as southern if published in states below the old Mason-Dixon Line, northern if published in states above that line, and western if published in what is considered the U.S. western expansion states after the 1865 Civil War. While only seven western editorials appeared in the data set, it is informative to see how they responded to the study questions. Thus, although a much smaller number of newspapers than in the two other regions, they are included.

Each editorial was content analyzed by the researcher and another trained independent coder. The unit of analysis was the newspaper editorial. Two sets of coder reliability checks were conducted on 12 randomly selected articles from the sample data. Using Holsti's formula,[38] the codings resulted in a calculation of 94 percent for average agreement between coders. To correct for chance agreement, a Scott's Pi was calculated and resulted in a coefficient of .89. Chi-squares, cross tabulations, frequencies and percentages were utilized to help summarize the data and to determine if the editorials differed by region.

Results

Examination of **Lexis Nexis** database and **Editorials on File** resulted in 109 editorials — 48 from northern newspapers, 54 from southern newspapers and 7 from western newspapers.[39] Study findings are reported in Table 1.

Did the editorials condemn the church arsons? Data findings showed no regional newspaper differences. The overwhelming majority of the editorials (86 percent or 94), in near equal proportions, wrote editorials condemning the arsons — southern editorials 87 percent (47), northern editorials 85 percent (41), and western editorials 86 percent (6). This question reflected the most consistent editorial response of all questions tested and is inconsistent with literature assertions that southern and northern editorials would project regional differences. To the contrary, southern and northern editorials reflected overwhelming similarity in condemning the church fires, as typified in

the following newspaper excerpts:

> *The burning of yet another black church in the South last Thursday brought heightened attention to a tragedy that has become a national disgrace.* (***Christian Science Monitor,*** June 11, 1996, p. 20)
>
> *We hope the nation shows revulsion to the church burnings. Americans are too good at heart to tolerate such cruelty.* (***Charleston Gazette,*** June 11, 1996, p. 4A)

Similar condemnation of the church arsons appeared in newspapers across the three regions. In only a very few newspapers was this sentiment not expressed.

Did the editorials assert the church arsons as racially motivated? Study data revealed no significant regional differences, showing that the overwhelming majority (82 percent or 89) portrayed the church burnings as racially motivated — northern editorials 83 percent (40), southern editorials 80 percent (43) and western editorials 86 percent (6). However, a few newspapers resisted charging racists as responsible for the church arsons, but rather attributed them to others such as "vandals," "pyromaniacs," or "lunatics." Still, the overwhelming majority across the three regions projected racial motivation in the black church burnings as reflected in these excerpts:

> *Thirty-three black churches burned.... [W]e must join together and fight ignorance, intolerance and bigotry.* (***Bend Oregon Bulletin,*** June 17, 1996, p. A6)
>
> *Racism burns close to the surface in America.... With the burning of each black church, America's social seam rips a little and exposes an ugliness that threatens to overwhelm this nation.* (***Asbury Park Press*** (NJ), June 16, 1996, p. C2)
>
> *The episodes have raised fears that a wave of racially motivated violence may be under way.* (***Houston Chronicle,*** June 14, 1996, p.10)

Did the editorials assert hate-group member involvement in the arsons? Study findings revealed no significant regional differences among newspapers with slightly over three-fourths (76 percent or 83) projecting no hate-member involvement (i.e., Klu Klux Klan members, Aryan Nation, skinheads, militia or other white supremacy groups). Almost a fourth of the editorials (24%) suggested hate-group members were involved — northern editorials 23 percent (11), southern editorials 28 percent (15), and no western editorials.

Given that 81 percent (88) of the editorials suggested the church burnings were racially motivated, it is interesting that only a few newspapers linked the fires to hate-group members. A possible reason for this trend is that federal investigation found less than a dozen arsonists affiliated with white-supremacist groups.

Did the editorials assert conspiracy involved in the arsons? Data findings reflect no significant differences by region. A majority of the editorials (53 percent) were void of conspiracy discussion. Over a third of the editorials (36 percent or 39) asserted there was no organized group conspiracy involved in the church fires — southern editorials 37 percent (20), northern editorials 31 percent (15) and western editorials 57 percent (4). Few editorials (11 percent or 12) expressed conspiracy involvement — 13 percent (7) of the southern editorials, 8 percent (4) of the northern editorials and one western editorial (14 percent). Again this is not surprising since federal officials linked church arsonists to organized group activity such as the KKK in less than a dozen cases.

However, overall, what most of the newspapers noted about the conspiracy issue was unclear and ambiguous. For example, the **St. Louis *Post Dispatch*** (June 12, 1996, p. 8) wrote that church fire investigations "turned up no interstate conspiracy" even though "several fires have been linked to people with KKK ties." Since the KKK has members in chapters across the nation, what is the editorial writer trying to say about the conspiracy issue? Although most editorials ignored the conspiracy issue, those that addressed it tended to do a poor job of explaining the idea to readers and could have inflamed racial tension over it.

Taking a different tactic, a small number of editorials asserted federal investigators' findings of no conspiracy was even more alarming, in view of its implications of unknown or unidentified racists. Such ideas are reflected in these excerpts:

> *There has been no evidence of an organized conspiracy. What's happening may be worse than a conspiracy. It may be an infection of bigotry festering inside a few people sick enough to act out their hatred.* (***State Journal Register*** (Springfield, IL), June 17, 1996, p. 4)
>
> *The absence of any organized conspiracy may make the phenomenon of church burning more, rather than less disturbing. Far easier to abide is the idea of a tight-knit group of racist fanatics than to accept the alternative that we live in a time when a substantial number of*

individuals, unconnected with one another or with organized white supremacist groups, regard burning black churches as a plausible act, worthy of emulation. (***Los Angeles Times***, June 16, 1996, p. M1)

Taking a different viewpoint, Noah Chandler of the Center for Democratic Renewal in Atlanta, a civil-rights watchdog group, called news media focus on the conspiracy question "racist conspiracy itself" (***Oregonian***, June 5, 1996, p. 4) Other newspapers noted different types of conspiracies including what the ***Houston Chronicle*** called a "conspiracy of silence" (June 15, 1996, p. 1) and ***The Bergen Record*** (NJ) called "conspiracy of hatred" (June 12, 1996, p. N11).

Did the editorials suggest right-wing influence in the church arsons? The findings revealed no significant regional differences as few of the editorials (16 percent or 17) noted right-wing influence — southern editorials 20 percent (11), northern editorials 8 percent (4) and western editorials 29 percent (2). However, the overwhelming majority of the editorials (84 percent) were void of the issue.

More interesting and unexpected, although not significant, was that southern editorials tended to note more right-wing influence. It is possible discussion of right-wing influence was interjected to deflect blame from southerners. It may also represent an attempt by southern newspapers simply to reflect possible conservative public-policy impact on society, which some people feel creates a climate for rising racism in its attacks on civil rights legislation (such as affirmative action). In excepts below such sentiments are expressed:

The burning of black churches in the South, including several in North Carolina, is a frightening sign that the monster of racial hatred is not yet slain or even mortally wounded.... There also is resentment toward politicians whose overeager attacks on welfare and affirmative action may have contributed to racial polarization. (**News and Observer** (Raleigh, NC), June 11, 1996)

Congress is, in the trend word, defunding affirmative action.... In the South, white louts have gone back to burning black churches. This is no time for the rest of us to be burning bridges, too. (**Commercial Appeal** (Memphis), June 17, 1996, p. 7A)

Did the editorials mandate punishment for arsonists? Findings showed no significant

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regional differences. A majority of the editorials were void of punishment discussion. However, punishment for arsonists was advocated in 39 percent (43) of the editorials — southern editorials 44 percent (24), northern editorials 35 percent (17) and western editorials 29 percent (2), as reflected in this excerpt:

> *What's needed is an all-out effort by law enforcement at every level to stop the church burnings and punish the cowards and twisted minds who do the devil's work under darkness.* (**St. Petersburg Times,** June 13, 1996, p. 18A)

While some editorials suggested punishment, a few insisted punishment alone was insufficient to address the black church burning crisis as reflected in this editorial:

> *It will not be enough to find and convict the arsonists who have attempted to bring terror to nine states. Society must show enough resolve in the face of such cowardly acts that the next demented mind that thinks about sneaking into a church with a gas can and matches in the middle of the night will be overwhelmed and ultimately dissuaded by two powerful emotions, fear and futility.* (**San Francisco Chronicle,** June 14, 1996, p. A26)

Did the editorials suggest that the church arsons threaten race relations? Data findings revealed no significant regional differences among the newspapers. Overall, 39 percent suggested the black church arsons threatened race relations — northern editorials 44 percent (21), southern editorials 33 percent (18) and western editorials 43 percent (3). However, most editorials did not address this idea — perhaps not seeing a race-relations threat, or possibly not to exacerbate racial tension by suggesting it. Yet, many of the editorials suggested that the black church fires affected race relations, as typified in these excerpts:

> *For those who are convinced that the civil rights movement solved the nation's racial problems, this attempt at religious intimidation stands as a harsh reminder that the battle against hatred has not yet been won.* (**Tulsa World,** June 9, 1996, p. 6)
>
> *The burning of black churches across the South makes it impossible for anyone to ignore the sorry state of race relations in this country today.* (**Baltimore Sun,** June 17, 1996, p.9A)
>
> *It is important to call attention to these fires for what they tell us about the state of race relations in America in the 1990s. Hatred based on race and religion is a chronic disease*

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that infects our society. Like other illnesses, without education and preventive measures, it will only get worse. **Patriot Leger** (Quincy, MA), May 29, 1996, p. 12

Did the editorials note historical racial strife? Significant regional differences among the newspapers were observed on this question ($X^2 = 6.25$ $P < .05$; $df = 2$). Data findings revealed that the majority of the editorials (58 percent or 63) mentioned racial strife of earlier decades in discussing the church burnings — northern editorials 67 percent (32), southern editorials 47 percent (25) and western editorials 86 percent (6). Northern editorials discussed past racial strife more than southern editorials. A possible reason for this trend is that given the close proximity of southern newspapers to the burned churches, southern writers experienced or expected greater racial tension regarding the arsons and perhaps felt reminders of past turmoil could further inflame the situation. Still, the majority of the editorials reminded readers of the past eras' burned black churches, as reflected in these excerpts:

It is eerily reminiscent of a time in our nation's past when arsonists and other terrorists targeted black churches with torches, bullets and bombs. It was a time that many Americans thought had passed. (**Cincinnati Enquirer,** June 16, 1996, p. G2)

The fires are reminiscent of racist terrorism that gripped the South in the 1950s and 60s. It demands the attention its getting from federal investigators. (**Orlando Sentinel Tribune,** June 12, 1996, p. 14)

The crimes prompt flashbacks to similar terrorism in the 60s when four little girls died in a Birmingham church bombing. (**USA Today,** March 15, 1996, p. 13A)

Did the editorials call for racial unity? Data findings revealed no significant regional differences among the newspapers. Exactly half of all editorials (50 percent or 54) called for racial unity — southern editorials 57 percent (31), northern editorials 45 percent (21), and western editorials 29 percent (2). Again, given the southern newspapers proximity, it makes sense they would more often and more strongly urge racial solidarity, as exemplified in these excerpts:

Your work has brought us together. And your work is going to keep us together. May the same be said on behalf of the nation to all responsible for these terrible fires. (**News and Observer** (Raleigh, N.C.), June 11, 1996, p. 8)

Nothing will gall the brigands responsible for the burnings more than the sight of Americans of good will working together against hate. (**Herald-Sun** (Durham, N.C.), June 14, 1996, p. A14)

Did the editorials suggest helping to rebuild the churches? Findings revealed significant regional differences among the newspapers on this question ($X^2 = 5.58$ $P < .10$; $df = 2$). Half of the editorials overall (50 percent or 54) suggested rebuilding the burned churches — southern editorials 57 percent (31), northern editorials 44 percent (21), and western editorials 29 percent (2). Given the proximity and southern locale of the church arsons, it is not amazing that 13 percent more of the southern than northern editorials called for church rebuilding help. Also, because the arsons were occurring in their communities, it may be that southern newspapers viewed their call to help burned black churches as part of their public journalism role of providing needed community service. Unity encouragement is exemplified in these excerpts:

The best repudiation of those sick with racial hatred would be for black congregations and white congregations in a society largely segregated on Sunday to do the rebuilding together as an antidote for hate and destruction. (**Fort Worth Star-Telegram,** June 12, 1996, p. 10)

No matter what the causes of these blazes...the people of Alabama should respond by helping to ensure the work of these churches — God's work — goes on. (**Montgomery Advertiser,** March 5, 1996, p. 8A)

The entire nation should be outraged, marching in protest and raising money to rebuild those mostly rural churches that have struggled so hard for a meager existence. (**Houston Chronicle,** June 15, 1996, p. 1)

Study conclusion

Most of the editorials examined made it clear that few crimes are considered more abhorrent than setting fire to places of worship. Though findings in this exploratory study cannot be generalized beyond the editorials examined, they still reveal distinctive and informative patterns and trends.

Overall, the findings show there is no monolithic southern nor monolithic northern press, but rather the two regions' newspapers showed far more similarities than differences. The findings

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contradict some media scholars' and media critics' assertions that southern and northern newspaper coverage of southern racial conflicts will differ. The findings indicate that popular assumptions about southern press coverage being less complete and less dependable than northern press coverage of racial strife in the south, in this case as represented by the burning of southern black churches largely by whites, may be misleading and unrealistic.

On only two of the 10 tested questions were the data findings consistent with literature assertions that southern and northern newspaper coverage will show differences. Significantly more southern editorials (44 percent) than northern editorials (25 percent) asserted that church-rebuilding help was needed. Due to closer proximity to the burned churches, it is not surprising that more southern editorials called for rebuilding help.

By contrast, significantly more northern editorials (67 percent) than southern editorials (47 percent) noted historical racial strife — past decades of church burnings, racism, violence and segregation that occurred in America. Again, it is conceivable that the southern papers, perhaps due to closer proximity to the church burnings, wrote fewer editorials that mentioned historical racial strife in the south in an attempt perhaps not to fan flames by revisiting history regarding the arsons that could exacerbate racial tensions among southern blacks and whites.

It is interesting that an overwhelming majority of the editorials, in roughly equal proportions of southern, northern and western editorials, condemned the black church arsons. It is more surprising perhaps that an overwhelming majority, in roughly equal proportions of southern, northern and western editorials, asserted the church fires were racially motivated. It is interesting, however, that while asserting the church fires were racially motivated, the overwhelming majority resisted linking the fires to hate groups.

Overall, the findings show no monolithic press behavior by region, but rather show that the southern and northern newspapers examined reflected more dominant theme similarities and more news value similarities than differences. However, the findings reveal that the newspaper editorials examined in this study should have more clearly defined the "conspiracy" concept to readers since in almost every editorial the idea was vague or opaque and could exacerbate racial tensions. For example, why would KKK or Aryan Nation member involvement in the church fires not constitute a

local if not national conspiracy? This question is never clearly answered in any of the editorials, but should be made clear to readers to help them put facts into perspective.

Finally, only one editorial examined noted that church worship in America still is very segregated. An editorial in the ***Fort Worth Star-Telegram*** stated: "Maybe a day will come when there will be no white or black churches, but just churches with members of all races" (June 12, 1996, p. 10). None of the other editorials addressed this extremely segregated aspect of American life, probably because it was not germane to the topic.

During the 1960s U.S. racial strife, church burnings were a major form of terrorism against black Americans. As in the present study period, the burnings mostly occurred at black churches in rural areas in the south. With federal investigation of the arsons, they fell dramatically. However, although national press attention is no longer focused on the black church arsons, Treasury Undersecretary James Johnson said church arson investigations will continue as a priority for federal authorities.[16]

The way the media portray black and white Americans and report on race relations between the races, strongly influences how the public perceives these aspects of American life. Given scholarly and popular literature perceptions of regional press differences, along with the idea of a socially responsible press concerned about people of all colors, it is important to investigate press projection of important social topics, particularly those that could affect race relations. The findings in this study suggest the need for more research assessing press performance and news-selection processes in handling racial conflicts.

For example, given often-assumed differences between black and mainstream newspapers, future research should examine black newspapers to see if trends observed in this study appear in them. Similarly, while this study analyzes only newspapers, it would be interesting to look at how the black church burnings story was covered in other news media, such as newsmagazines.

Notes

1. James Brosnan, *Religious Group Announces Fund for Burned-out Churches.* **Scripps Howard News Service,** January 27, 1997; Gary Fields, *Church Arsons Up; Few Black Churches Targets.* **USA Today,** June 9, 1997, p. 1; George Lardner, *Various Motives Are Found for Church*

Blazes, Task Force Few Arsonists Linked to Hate Groups. **Washington Post,** June 9, 1997, p. A1.

2. Penny Bender, *Racism Shadows Church Blazes.* **Jackson (Texas) Sun,** June 16, 1996, p. 7; Brosnan, *op. cit.*

3. Fields, *op. cit.*; Claude Lewis, *Church Burnings Don't Intimidate; Instead, They Spark Revolutions.* **Philadelphia Inquirer,** June 5, 1996, p. 9; David Goldberg, **Racial Subjects: Writing on Race in America.** New York: Routledge, 1–4.

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Star, Madison (Wisc.) *Capital Times*, Philadelphia *Inquirer*, Hartford (Conn.) *Courant*, St. Louis *Post Dispatch*, Detroit *News*, Rockford (Ill.) *Register Star*, *USA Today*.

Southern newspapers included in the database were: **Memphis** *Commercial Appeal*, **Atlanta** *Constitution*, **Austin** *American Statesman*, **New Orleans** *Times Picayune*, **Knoxville** *News Sentinel*, **Houston** *Chronicle*, **Richmond** *Times Dispatch*, **Charleston** *Gazette*, **Fort Worth** *Star Telegram*, **Durham (N.C.)** *Herald Sun*, **Tampa** *Tribune*, **Arkansas** *Democrat Gazette*, **St. Petersburg** *Times*, **Orlando** *Sentinel*, **Palm Beach** *Post*, **Florida** *Stuart News*, *Tennessean*, **Raleigh (N.C.)** *News and Observer*, **Greensboro (N.C.)** *News and Record*, **Durham (N.C.)** *Herald*, **Montgomery (Ala.)** *Advertiser*, **Miami** *Herald*, **Rock Hill (S.C.)** *Herald*, **Chattanooga** *Times*.

Western newspapers included in the database were: **Los Angeles** *Times*, **San Francisco** *Chronicle*, **Phoenix** *Gazette*, **Denver** *Rocky Mountain News*, **San Diego** *Union Tribune*, **Salt Lake City** *Tribune*, **Portland** *Oregonian*.

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Table 1: Themes in Black Church-burnings Newspaper Editorials:
A frequency and percentage comparison by region
N=109

Editorial Themes	Southern Newspapers N=54	Northern Newspapers N=48	Western Newspapers N=7	Total Newspapers
1. Condemned arsons	87% (47)	85% (41)	86% (6)	86% (94)
2. Arsons racially motivated	80% (43)	83% (40)	86% (6)	82% (89)
3. Hate group member involved	28% (15)	23% (11)	— 0 —	24% (26)
4. No conspiracy in arsons	37% (20)	31% (15)	57% (4)	36% (39)
5. Right wing influence in arsons	20% (11)	8% (4)	29% (2)	16% (17)
6. Punishment needed for arsonists	44% (24)	35% (17)	29% (2)	39% (43)
7. Race relations threatened	33% (18)	44% (21)	43% (3)	39% (42)
8. Historical strife noted	* 47% (25)	67% (32)	86% (6)	58% (63)
9. Racial unity needed	57% (31)	44% (21)	29% (2)	50% (54)
10. Church rebuilding help needed	** 44% (24)	25% (12)	14% (1)	34% (37)

* P<.05 ** P<.10

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Pointing Fingers:

Victim Blaming and News Coverage of African-Americans, Health and Public Policy in Two Major Metropolitan Newspapers

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Pointing Fingers:

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Abstract

The presence of victim blaming of African-Americans and their health issues, as it relates to public policy, was examined through the content analysis of two newspapers, the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* and the New Orleans *Times Picayune*, from November 1997 to November 1998. Overall, the *Times Picayune* published more victim blaming articles than the *Plain Dealer*. Also, male reporters did more victim blaming and as was more blatant than their female counterparts.

Pointing Fingers:

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In their seminal 1972 study, McCombs and Shaw defined agenda setting. Their look at the 1968 U.S. presidential election demonstrated that audiences learn about public issues and their importance based on emphasis in the news media.

Today, the research focus has changed. After nearly 30 years, researchers are finding that the theory of agenda setting has evolved in such the media no longer tell the public simply what to think about. Researchers are now finding that media may be influencing what audiences think (McCombs and Shaw, 1993). This second level of agenda setting suggests that the way the attribute of an object or issue is emphasized in the media affect how the public shape their opinions of it. This area is closely related to framing, which proposes that the way a news story is organized, written, presented and published will affect the meaning the audience derives from the story (Pan and Kosicki, 1990).

Little research has addressed agenda setting, framing and their effect on newspaper coverage of health issues and developing public policy. The present study analyzed the content of health articles concerning governmental policy changes and examines the attribute of victim blaming within the context of the stories.

Mass media has been shown to be major sources of information on various health problems (Allen et al., 1992; Austin, 1995; Wallack, 1990). Newspapers constantly publish articles on health topics. Approximately one-fourth of all daily newspaper articles focus on health-related issues (Atkins and Arkin, 1990). In an article on popular

medical journals and their agenda-setting capabilities, Squires (1986) noted how the Associated Press and United Press International carried more than 300 medical and science stories based upon new findings published in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, the *New England Journal of Medicine* and *Science*. At that rate, a health or science article would have been published almost every day that year. It is likely that the number of health-related article have slightly increased since the 1986 Squires article.

Similarly, relatively few studies have examined the relationship between African-Americans and health issues. Newspapers, however, have sought to inform the general public of their plight. Journalists often write series documenting shoddy living conditions, crime-filled neighborhoods and inadequate nutrition. In the spring of 1998, the Associated Press produced a feature on the racial divide of health care in this nation. A similar article was published in USA Today in January of 1999. The stories often discuss curable and correctable illnesses that go unchecked and the inability of some to make trips to a health care provider. Deficient diets of high salt, high fat foods and expensive prescriptions are also the subjects of stories. If they only ate properly, they would... If they simply went to the hospital, they could... If they remembered to take their medicine every day, they should... Often the newspaper articles, which are supposed to help the African-American community through exposure of their problems, blame them for their health-related misfortunes. As a result, public policy is often formulated based upon the information received from print media.

Public policy, as it relates to African-Americans and health issues, is a significant issue, itself. Weiss (1974) noted that policy-makers often look to the news media for

information on policy issues. In terms of health care policy, policy-makers are also indirectly affected by the news media as societal members associated with the health care policy debate utilize the news media for their information (Miller, 1986). Additionally, past studies have demonstrated that the media agenda emphasize developing health policies by putting the issues on the public agenda (Culbertson and Stempel, 1985) as well as swaying the opinions of the public and the policy-makers (Protess et al., 1991).

The present research, through a content analysis of New Orleans *Times-Picayune* and Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, examines newspaper articles that discuss health, African-Americans and public policy. It was possible that victim blaming, whether subtle or blatant, would emerge in the text. The data demonstrated that the article type and placement, the sex of the reporter, the illness of discussion, environmental factors associated with the illness and the source of developing public policy (e.g. federal, state or local government) will have an effect on the amount of victim blaming observed.

Agenda-setting and Framing

In his 1922 book Public Opinion, Walter Lippmann argued that the news media provide people with pictures in their heads of a outside world that they are unable to see. The public will then transfer salience to certain issues based on the priorities of the media agenda. McCombs and Shaw later developed Lippmann's early notions with their study of the 1968 presidential election. "Audiences not only learn about public issues and other matters from the media, they also learn how much importance to attach to an issue or topic from the emphasis the media placed on it" (McCombs and Shaw, 1972). Tipton et al. (1975) demonstrated, in a study of statewide elections, that there were strong

relationships between the frequency in which issues were mentioned in the public and newspaper coverage. The media agenda is directly responsible for the public agenda.

In terms of the current study, the salient health issues of African-Americans in New Orleans and Cleveland may be based on coverage in their respective newspapers. For instance, if a series of articles are published on high cholesterol in "soul food" and the city's offer of free public cholesterol screenings, it is likely that more African-Americans, who read the newspaper, will lower their fat intake and utilize the free health care services based on the bombardment of messages received from the newspapers.

In many of the past agenda setting studies, an *object*, usually a public issue, has been the element of analysis. There are characteristics, however, which seem to define each object. These *attributes* can vary in salience just as the salience of the object themselves vary. In the study, victim blaming is one attribute that can be analyzed as it relates to newspaper coverage of African Americans and health issues.

The analysis of the transmission of object salience has been attributed to first-level agenda setting. However, new research has begun to look at the transmission of attribute salience, which is the focus of second-level agenda setting. Bernard Cohen (1963), in discussing the basic ideas of agenda setting, wrote, "the press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about."

Second-level agenda setting takes the early theory a step further by suggesting that the news media tell people how to think about a certain object. In a study of the 1976 presidential election, Weaver, Graber, McCombs and Eyal (1981) noted a relationship between the media's attribute agenda (coverage in the *Chicago Tribune*) and

the public agenda of attributes (i.e. the Illinois voters' opinions of the candidates). Becker and McCombs (1978) found a similar correlation between the attribute agendas of New York Democrats and the agenda of attributes of *Newsweek*. Though neither of these studies were designed to study the second-level of agenda setting, they provide evidence that the news media can influence the attributes the public links to a political candidate (McCombs, Llamas, Escobar and Rey, 1997).

The impact of news frames on the public agenda has been closely related to second-level agenda setting. Tankard et al. (1991) defined framing as "the central organizing ideas for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the used of selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration." In discussing framing and salience, Entman (1993) stated that "to frame is *to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and or treatment recommendation* for the item described." In the context of second-level agenda setting, Entman maintains that in framing, attributes are selected and added to the discussion of a certain object.

The present study examined the attribute of victim blaming and how it relates to newspaper coverage of health issues and African-Americans. Substantive sub-issues such as the sex of the journalist and the illness of emphasis in the articles were also analyzed based on their correspondence to the victim blaming attribute.

Victim Blaming

In North American society, there is a tendency to localize both the source of a problem and the solution to the suffering individuals (Muller, Caldwell and Hunter, 1994;

Ryan, 1971). This was referred to as "blaming the victim." As and example, the impoverished and indigent members of our society are seen as lazy and nonchalant instead of being limited in their life options and opportunities. Behavioral scientists have utilized theoretical frameworks, such as the just world theory (Lerner, 1980; Smith, Keating, Hester and Mitchell, 1976; Rubin and Peplau, 1973; MacLean and Shaw, 1988), the theory of defensive attribution (Shaver, 1980; Burger, 1981) and the locus of control theory (Muller, Caldwell and Hunter, 1994; Paulsen, 1979; Thornton, Robbins and Johnson, 1981; Phares and Lamiell, 1975) to explain why individuals will place blame squarely on the shoulders of the victim.

For the present study, an operational definition of victim blaming was formulated based on past research studies in behavioral science (Muller, Caldwell and Hunter, 1994). The term was defined as an instance within a newspaper article in which individuals associated with the story were blamed for past, present and future circumstances. In this context, written cues from the journalists as well as statements from persons within the story were sources of victim blaming.

The concept of victim blaming was divided into two types: subtle and blatant. In subtle victim blaming, a single reference is made by the reporter, or an individual situated within the story, that holds the persons of focus accountable for their situations. This instance is classified as subtle, because the words may have been used inadvertently or unconsciously. As an example, a 1998 *Chicago Sun-Times* story titled "Prescriptions for change: Healthy lifestyle campaign targets African-Americans" contained the following sentence: "Giving African-Americans the tools to make positive changes in their own lives is a primary goal of the healthy living campaign." Throughout the remainder of the

article, there were no other references to the need of African-Americans to take responsibility for their health; therefore, this article can be classified as containing subtle victim blaming.

In blatant victim blaming, the individuals involved in the story are criticized repeatedly for their health problems. A 1998 article in the *Atlanta Journal and Constitution* titled "Book promoted as aid in blacks' health care" had at least two references to African-Americans and their health responsibilities. "While poverty and lack of access to affordable health care are contributors to some problems...people can improve their health through lifestyle changes." "...Cultural attitudes also need to be adjusted with an eye toward proper diet and exercise." The previous excerpts illustrate instances of blatant victim blaming as well as the types of statements the research focused on.

African-Americans, their health and the average American: What is the problem?

The African-American community has been plagued with illnesses, such as hypertension, heart disease and high blood pressure, for centuries. The group and other minorities continue to have disproportionately higher rates of these diseases than whites (George, 1995; Bailey, 1991). Thomas (1992) discusses that with scientific advances in the management of chronic illnesses, diseases such as hypertension and diabetes should not lead to disability and premature death. The world has become more health conscious and people are changing their lifestyles to protect their health. "Unfortunately, African-Americans have not befitted equitably from the scientific and technological advances of the medical profession or various national prevention and educational efforts" (pg. 837).

In a 1994 study, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention compiled findings concerning the health of African-Americans. It was shown that self-reported hypertension, diabetes and heart disease were higher than whites for both sexes. "From 1986-1990, hypertension and diabetes were among the most common self-reported [and clinically reported] chronic conditions among African-Americans..." (pp. 2-19).

Hypertension is one of the most important health problems affecting the African-American community in rural and urban populations. They are 2 to 4 more times likely than whites to develop hypertension by age 50 and 3 to 4 times more likely to suffer a stroke in relation to the illness (James, 1994).

Between the age groups 18-44 years and 45-64 years, hypertension quadrupled for African-American men (8.6% to 32.8%) and women (11.5% to 43.0%). In adjusting for age, African-American women have a prevalence 43 percent higher than African-American men (CDC, 1994, pp.2-17).

Diabetes is the third most commonly ranked reported illness among African-Americans. The number of cases of the illness increases six- to ten-fold with age. Following age-adjustments, the prevalence of diabetes was 18 percent higher for African-American women than for men of the same community (CDC, 1994, pp.2-19).

The Governor's Task Force for Black and Minority Health in Ohio discussed in a 1987 report that diabetes was the sixth leading cause of death for the state's minority residents. In 1984, more than 2,000 deaths were attributed to the disease with 20.9% of those being non-whites. The percentage of the deaths for whites was 18.6%. Of 35,000 diabetic African-American Ohioans, 66% of them were female (Ohio, 1987).

In comparison to whites, the racial health disparity between African-Americans is tremendous. This includes:

- neonatal mortality (110% higher in African-American),
- mortality due to diabetes (2x the rate of whites),
- mortality due to heart disease (1.25% higher),
- mortality due to stroke (80% higher), and
- nephritis, nephrosis and nephrotic syndrome (3x the rate of whites)(Davis et al., 1995).

The elevated risk of death for African-Americans across such a broad range of illnesses continue to concern health care providers. Suicide is the only cause of death that African-Americans have an extremely lower rate than whites (Williams, 1998; Thomas, 1992). A federal 1980 Report of the Secretary's Task Force on Black and Minority Health demonstrated that there were 59,000 excess deaths for blacks in the U.S. in 1980 Almost 60,000 African-Americans died who would not have died if their mortality experience were the same as the white population.

With the lack of information on victim blaming in the newspaper coverage of African-American, health and public policy, there is some unanswered research questions:

1. How often do newspapers employ victim blaming in their coverage of African-Americans and health?
2. Do Northern and Southern newspapers differ on their coverage of African-Americans and health?

The way in which health and public policy articles are presented to the public, which includes its placement in the paper or the length of the article, is important because the presentation can greatly affect how African-Americans perceive the information within the article. A brief story on heart disease may cause this group to examine it differently than a series on obesity. The article may also be negatively if the writers choose to

present an image of blame directed at African-Americans and their health. Readers learn attributes from coverage. If the attributes of health coverage show victim blaming, the reader may think African-Americans are solely responsible for their health plight.

The selection of the newspapers was based on location. In the early 1900s, African-Americans began to migrate from the rural South to the urban North. Jones (1969) showed that the urbanization of rural African-Americans had done little to alter their traditional meal patterns over the past decades. Only living conditions and social situations had changed. The strength of culture and heritage had survived the in-migration and evolution of the small farmer and sharecropper into the urban, educated northerner. For this reason, the health of the two groups should be similar when based upon their nutritional intake.

Methodology

Any newspaper article pertaining to health, African-Americans and public policy that appeared in the New Orleans *Times-Picayune* and the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* between January 1997 to December 1997 was included in the analysis. A keyword search was performed on Lexis-Nexis Academic Universe, using the phrases "African-Americans and health" and "blacks and health." Searches were also performed using the words "African-Americans" or "blacks" with the names of illnesses (e.g. heart disease, hypertension). Those results, however, mirrored the results of the phrase searches.

The New Orleans *Times-Picayune* and the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* newspapers were chosen for study based on the cities' large African-American population. There are two medical schools, numerous hospitals and a school of tropical medicine and public health in New Orleans. Cleveland is the home of three major hospitals and a large

medical school. Obviously, the health of this segment of the population is extremely important.

Only two newspapers (i.e. the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* and the New Orleans *Times-Picayune*) were analyzed, because it was important to fully examine victim blaming and its related attributes through an in-depth analysis, which included headlines and other textual cues.

The time period was selected based upon the release of the final data for the Third National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey (NHANES III), 1988-1994. The results of the six-year study are analyzed by the National Center of Health Statistics, a branch of the Centers for Disease Control in two phases – Phase 1 (1988-91) and Phase 2 (1991-94). By 1993, the first phase findings were published in various journals. With the final release of the data in 1997, it is likely that newspaper coverage of health issues. Stories on public policy would also increase based upon the government's concern with the data.

The content analysis of the articles focused on two areas:

Newspaper coverage

- Article type, including hard news, features, profiles, editorials and columns.
- Article placement, including headline, other front page, other (Section A), other (rest of paper), special features section, special health section and editorial/column
- Sex of the reporter, including male, female and unable to determine
- Origin of government effort in emerging public policy, including federal, state, local (parish, county or city), other or none.
- Illness of emphasis in story, including heart disease, hypertension, high blood pressure, obesity, malnutrition, cancer, AIDS/HIV, other and none.

- Environmental factors associated with African-Americans and their health, including crime-ridden neighborhoods, deficient diets, poverty (low socioeconomic status), lack of access to health care, lack of prescription usage, lack of education or none.

The unit of analysis for the news coverage variable was the article.

Victim blaming

- Presence of victim blaming, including subtle (single reference) and blatant (more than one reference).
- Intent of victim blaming, including positive, negative and neutral.

The unit of analysis for the victim blaming attribute was the paragraph. Using Holsti's (1969) formula, the intercoder reliability across the categories averaged .81, which is an acceptable level.

Results

The content analysis yielded 27 articles and 618 paragraphs. The Plain Dealer had victim blaming present in 26 of 416 paragraphs, while it was present in 35 out of 202 Times-Picayune paragraphs. The chi-square value was 18.75 ($p < .001$) suggests that the Times-Picayune was more likely to have victim blaming of African-Americans present in its articles (Table 1).

Of these paragraphs with victim blaming present, the subtle and blatant forms were each observed half of the time in the Times-Picayune. The Plain Dealer was subtle with its victim blaming 70.6% of the time and blatant 29.4% of the time. The chi-square value of 9.227 ($p < .001$), suggesting that despite the increased likelihood of victim blaming articles in the Times-Picayune, the Plain Dealer is more likely to have subtle victim blaming when there are such articles in the newspaper. On the other hand, the Times-Picayune was more prone to blame victims blatantly (Table 2).

Male reporters were more inclined to victim blame in Times-Picayune

[chi-square = 20.23, ($p < .001$),]. The Plain Dealer had more female reporters blame African-Americans for their health problems (Table 3). There was no evidence to support which newspaper had the most neutral, positive and negative victim blaming statements [chi-square = 4.102, ($p = .129$)]. Based on frequencies, however, the Plain Dealer printed more neutral and positive statements, while the Times-Picayune published more negative statements (Table 4).

For both newspapers, hard news stories were more likely to have victim blaming. Similarly, in terms of article placement, both newspapers printed most of their victim blaming stories in the first section of the paper (Section A) (Table 5).

In a majority of the articles for both newspapers, emerging public policy and its governmental origin were not mentioned. When the government was involved, it was usually the federal government (Table 6).

In over a quarter of its articles, the Plain Dealer emphasized illnesses other than those commonly associated specifically with African-Americans and their health, such as Alzheimer's disease. The Times-Picayune reporters focused mainly on heart disease. AIDS/HIV was the second highest illness of focus for both newspapers. A lack of access to health care was the environmental factor most linked with victim blaming in both newspapers. A lack of education accounted for the next common factor in the New Orleans paper, while the Cleveland paper often did not include an environmental issue in their articles (Table 7).

Discussion

In victim blaming, either the reporter or an individual associated with the news of a story could blame another individual (in this case, African-Americans) for their

unfortunate circumstances. Though such a phenomenon is possible in news reporting, it is not always present. It is likely that newspaper administrators are making more editorial decisions that shed African-Americans in a sympathetic light.

On the surface, 61 paragraphs out of 618 (27 out of the 906 articles) looks like a relatively low number of instances of victim blaming - only 10% of the paragraphs had victim blaming. Since most articles discuss health problems overall, however, the fact that African-Americans were blamed at such percentage at all is rather significant.

When victim blaming is observed in both newspapers, it is more likely to be found in a hard news story. Here, the sources of the story are probably unable to rehearse what they are going to say prior to the reporter's interview. Thus, they utter the first words that come to their minds. In terms of location, most victim blaming of African-Americans will be placed in the first section of the newspaper where the audience is more likely to read about them. There was no difference on the amount of victim blaming and the type of article and its location, though.

In Cleveland, a female Plain Dealer reporter is going to be more inclined to blame African-Americans for their health problems in a subtle manner in her articles, while male Times-Picayune reporters will do the same, but in a more blatant fashion. In this instance, gender is tied closely with the newspaper coverage and victim blaming. It is difficult, however, to relate the intent of the statement to the amount of coverage. Since men are more prone to blame African-Americans blatantly, they will also do so in the most negative manner, sparing no feelings along the way. Women, on the other hand, are subtle and positive (or neutral) when they point the finger. As an example, in a November 1997 Plain Dealer article a female reporter quoted the president of the Black

Economic Union as saying "Black men show up in medical records from the time they're infants to age 15; then they don't show up again until they're in their 60s...This could be a catalyst for black men to change that statistic." The use of the statement demonstrated that the journalist included a positive victim blaming comment in her piece. Also, it was the only comment of its kind, thus the victim blaming was subtle. In the case of a male reporter from the Times-Picayune, a June 1998 article included the statements: "It [the health disparity] has to do with a lack of education and a lack of access...many African-Americans still use the emergency room as their primary physician," "They're [black people] working, so they're proud...they don't want to come and see a doctor for free," and "...Mistrust of the health-care system is rampant among black people...." Here, the reporter repeatedly used quotes that blamed African-Americans for their health in a negative manner.

Environmentally, both news vehicles will normally fault a lack of access to health care for poor health standards. A lack of education or no particular factor at all will be cited for an African-American's failure to maintain a healthy lifestyle. In the north, the newspaper will not usually fail to mention any illness when engaging in victim blaming, but the southern paper will expectedly associate heart disease with its victim. Though African-Americans have maintained the same meal patterns, despite time and migration, southern food tends to be higher in fat and cholesterol. For this reason, it is logical that heart disease would be more related to the poor health of African-Americans. The high prevalence of AIDS/HIV among the African-American population is becoming of increased importance, hence, both newspapers will discuss the disease more openly in their articles.

The northern or southern newspaper that has published a victim blaming article usually will not do so in relation to any emerging public policy. In this instance, the papers are demonstrating that African-Americans are responsible for their health issues constantly, not only when a government agency begins enact legislation to assist them.

Second-level agenda setting states that the way the attribute of an object is presented in the media affects how the members of public shape their opinion of it. Framing, a closely related theory, demonstrates that how an article is packaged affects the meaning an audience derives from a story. The data from this study suggested that the way a story was packaged by a newspaper (i.e. article type and placement) and the reporters' contributions (i.e. illness of emphasis and environmental factors) affect the presence of the victim blaming attribute in the articles. Though the attribute salience to the public was not noted in the examination of the northern and southern newspapers, the presence of the attribute in 27 articles demonstrates that it can be measured in later studies. In the future, it will be important to observe if second-level agenda setting and the attribute salience of victim blaming has affected the self-perceived health outlook of African-Americans following exposure to the attribute in newspaper articles. Will the minority group dislike the newspaper for revealing its faults, or will it internalize the message and enact change?

It is also imperative to observe whether the race of the reporter has any affect on the amount of victim blaming. African-American reporters may be more inclined to not lay blame on the shoulders of their people, while other races, which have no communal ties, will not spare the "rod" when it comes to issues of African-American health.

Table 1 – Number of victim blaming paragraphs in articles with victim blaming present

	Plain Dealer	Times-Picayune
Victim blaming	26	35
No victim blaming	390	167

Pearson's chi-square = 18.75 $p < .001$

Table 2 – Percentages of subtle and blatant victim blaming

	Plain Dealer	Times-Picayune
subtle	70.6%	50.0%
blatant	29.4%	50.0%

Pearson's chi-square = 9.227 $p < .001$

Table 3 – Percentages of victim blaming based on the gender of the reporters*

	Plain Dealer	Times-Picayune
male	29.4%	60%
female	58.8%	30%

Pearson's chi-square = 20.23 $p < .001$

*The percentage of reporters with indeterminable genders was 11.8% (*Plain Dealer*) and 10% (*Times-Picayune*).

Table 4 – Percentages of neutral, positive and negative victim blaming statements**

	Plain Dealer	Times-Picayune
Neutral	58.8%	50%
Positive	23.5%	20%
Negative	17.6%	30%

Pearson's chi-square = 4.102 (p=.129)
**not statistically significant

Table 5 – Frequencies victim blaming article types and their placement

	Plain Dealer	Times-Picayune
Article Type	Hard news = 47.1% Features = 41.2% Editorials = 11.8%	Hard news = 60% Features = 20% Columns = 20%
Article Placement	Headline story = 5.9% Other (Sec. A) = 11.8% Rest of paper = 41.2% Special features = 11.8% Special health = 11.8% Editorial/column = 17.6%	Other front page = 10% Other (Sec. A) = 40% Rest of paper = 30% Special features = 20%

Table 6 – Frequencies of the origin of governmental efforts, emerging public policy and victim blaming

	Plain Dealer	Times-Picayune
Federal	35.3%	20%
State	---	---
Local	5.9%	10%
Other	---	---
None	58.8%	70%

Table 7 – Frequencies for the illnesses of emphasis and the environmental factors associated with African-Americans and their health

	Plain Dealer	Times-Picayune
Illness of focus	Heart disease = 5.9% High b.p. = 5.9% Cancer = 17.6% AIDS/HIV = 23.5% Other = 35.3% None = 11.8%	Heart disease = 30% Hypertension = 10% AIDS/HIV = 20% Other = 10% None = 30%
Environmental % Factors	None = 41.2% Poverty = 5.9% Lack of access = 41.2% Lack of educ. = 11.8%	Deficient diets = 10% Poverty = 20% Lack of access = 40 Lack of educ. = 30%

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Race and the Praxis of Crime Reporting: A Narrative Paradigm for Portrayals of Deviance

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Race and the Praxis of Crime Reporting: A Narrative Paradigm for Portrayals of Deviance

Social science studies present conflicting evidence of the effects of crime and race news coverage on audience and lead to a seemingly intractable debate. This essay suggests that narrative analysis may be a more useful tool. Using the content of an original study done in City X, a mid-sized, mid-Atlantic city, and previously published social scientific research as a point of departure, this paper explores how narrative theory reconfigures race, crime news, and public opinion. It finds that while the broadcasts over emphasize black-on-white crime, they under report black involvement in any other aspect of the community. It recommends that narrative theory and civic journalism be employed as a functional way to "manage" racial narratives by viewing journalists as storytellers and shapers of the community narrative and the audience as active participants in creating its meaning. Under the light of narrative theory, journalists can no longer claim to be enslaved by simple 'facts' but must take more responsibility for shaping community narratives on race.

Race and the Praxis of Crime Reporting: A Narrative Paradigm for Portrayals of Deviance

The long-running dispute between minority groups and the television news media over crime coverage is highly charged, and for good reasons. Advocates in the African-American community and elsewhere allege that television crime coverage exaggerates black-on-white crime and consequently sours relations between blacks and whites. These accusations draw defensive reactions from journalists who feel that they are being accused of a bias and that their journalistic integrity is being challenged. The issue is hard to address functionally because both the minority advocates and the news media can appeal to their own sets of well-conducted, social scientific research to support their arguments. Minority groups point to research suggesting that the news over reports and exaggerates violent crime, thus persuading audiences that—in major cities, at least—violent crime is on the rise and that African Americans or other minorities are to blame (Gilliam, Iyengar, Simon, & Wright, 1996; Graber, 1979; Jaehnig, Weaver, & Fico, 1981). On the other hand, the news media can cite studies showing that news coverage does not influence people's views about race and crime as much as is often purported (O'Keefe & Reed-Nash, 1987; Sheley and Ashkins, 1981; Warr, 1995). Besides, Entman (1992) suggests, even the most racially sensitive television stations can inadvertently perpetuate racial stereotypes when they hire minority anchors and reporters and thereby insinuate that racial barriers have fallen.[1] Entman's argument offers little hope that any news broadcast practice can keep the peace, much less actually advance race relations.

Social scientific communication research on crime and the media reaches ambivalent and even contradictory conclusions—not only about the problem but also about the solution. The apparently intractable nature of this dispute points to the limitations of the social scientific media paradigm and prompts us, in Kuhnian fashion (Kuhn, 1996; see also Lembo & Tucker, 1990), to look for a different explanatory vocabulary.

To that end, this essay explores the application of narrative theory to one aspect of this debate. Using the content of an original study done in City X, a mid-sized, mid-Atlantic city, and previously published social scientific research as a point of departure, this paper explores how narrative theory reconfigures race, crime news, and public opinion. Viewing crime news through a narrative lens confirms that coverage is a socially important but potentially problematic text. More importantly, it expands ideas about: the role of the audience in television news, the community's management of racial narratives, and the role of the reporter as storyteller. Lastly, it suggests that narrative analysis points toward civic journalism as a possible means to address the problem.

Method

This exploration is based in an examination of a total of 36 hours of news broadcasts aired by three local network affiliates (ABC, CBS, NBC) in a mid-sized United States city during the May 1996 ratings sweeps period.[2] The methodology blends quantitative and qualitative perspectives, using the interdisciplinary approach proposed by Jensen (1990) and Lembo & Tucker (1990). As in Parisi's (1998) study, the individual story was the unit of analysis. In general, the sample came from the 11:00-11:30 p.m. broadcasts, although a few 6:00-6:30 p.m. broadcasts were included. A total of 12 hours (i.e., 24 broadcasts) for each of the three stations was included in the sample.[3]

The data were examined in two ways. First, the stories were catalogued in terms of content and race involvement. Stories about violent crime, education, and welfare issues were selected for further study. Violent crime stories—ones about murders, rapes, assaults, and drug crime, for example—were of central importance, while education and welfare stories were selected as benchmarks because those issues were of keen news interest at the time. During the study period, the city school board was contemplating a redistricting plan that would affect racial integration in the schools, and welfare reform and poverty issues were key debates at both state and national levels. Although some stories overlapped categories (such as stories talking about school violence), each was placed in the one category that best described what made it newsworthy. Stories were therefore in one category only. Stories that portrayed the African-American community outside of the context of crime were also noted.

The races of the perpetrators and of the victims in violent crime stories were recorded. Race was noted when it was obvious (i.e., the news showed a picture of the person) or easily inferable (i.e., the news showed parents or siblings of the person). Race was marked unclear when the news did not mention it or the imagery did not suggest it. Race was not assumed, even in instances in which audiences might have made assumptions.[4]

In addition to this numeric cataloging of stories, a sample of 18 broadcasts (six for each station) was randomly selected for a narrative analysis. In these, violent crime stories were transcribed and the imagery attending each story was catalogued. In addition, the race of each participant—including the anchors, reporters, interviewees, victims, and defendants—was noted, using the same method as above.

The method used here bears similarity to that used in other studies, such as Graber (1979) and Katz (1987), although it is neither as extensive nor as long-term. The object here was to

structure the information gathering for qualitative analysis. The study did not strive for scientific ""proof"" so much as "the burden of [qualitative] plausibility" (Sennett, 1976, p. 43).

Findings

The study of City X, as well as a variety of other studies, supports the idea that blacks disproportionately play the part of criminals in the news (Entman, 1992; Gilliam, Iyengar, Simon, & Wright, 1996). Blacks were explicitly shown as perpetrators of crime in 20% to 30 % of the crime stories in the City X sample, but in many more stories audiences were likely to conjecture the perpetrators' race because they were identified with predominantly black neighborhoods. Many urban television news broadcasts, including those in City X, also over report white victims of black perpetrators, even though this crime pattern is much less common than black-on-black and white-on-white crime. In City X, for example, white victims were clearly identifiable in nearly twice as many stories as black victims. (About 11% of the victims clearly portrayed were black, compared to 22% who were white. Race was unclear in the remainder of cases.)

Additionally, crime gets top billing. Close to 90 % of the sample news broadcasts placed at least one crime story among the top three.

But the news media can also strengthen stereotypes by under-emphasizing black involvement in other areas (Downing & Husband, 1995; Entman, 1992). In the City X study, for instance, fewer than 10 stories in the entire 72 news broadcasts sampled depicted African Americans outside of the context of crime. In fact, fewer than 1% of the news stories (actually .7%), or in one story in every 127, showed a black person who was not involved in a crime.

This startling find means that virtually the only characters that black people played in the news were criminals or, less commonly, victims in crime stories. In some stories involving black defendants, whites played every other role: the anchors, reporters, judges, lawyers, and police.

Crime thus becomes a "black problem," and black people become chiefly criminals, especially in the eyes of those predisposed to view crime in racial terms (Entman, 1992; Gilliam, Iyengar, Simon, & Wright, 1996). And such notions on the parts of whites could contribute to the souring of racial relations that minority activists complain about, especially in cities like City X, already on edge from racial tensions.

The racial climate in City X was tense at the time the sample was collected, and some of that tension was reflected in the news. Prior to the sample period, all three stations had begun following a case in which a black man had [MP1] been killed by white police officers at a routine traffic stop. And after the study period, they covered a Ku Klux Klan demonstration in the downtown area. But racial tension went beyond these high profile incidents. Minority activists were concerned, for instance, about a local study showing wide disparities in income between whites and blacks. And an unusually high number of active white supremacist groups had become active in the region. Their list of concerns also included the new media's coverage of racial issues.

Analysis

Crime reporting from the narrative perspective

In conversation with station managements and staffs, which the authors witnessed,[5] minority groups spokespersons said they were fairly satisfied in the media coverage of high profile racial issues. In fact, they found the media coverage of the Klan rally exceptional. Rather, it was the day-to-day coverage of race in the context of crime that caused their concern. But while many reporters and editors seemed to share the activists' worries about crime coverage, some suggested that there was little they could do. In particular, they were concerned that by changing the way they covered race and crime, they would diminish the quality of their journalism. That is,

they suggested that if they thought about the racial overtones in their stories and then altered them in some way, they were no longer being bias-free purveyors of information to the public. The reporters' concerns reflect a common view of what the news should be. If the news media are viewed simply as a source of information, as a teacher of the body politic, then they[MP2] *do* need to purge any taint of bias from the news. Concern for any particular minority group could blur journalism's role as "mirror of society" (Graber, 1979, p. 87; see also Shaver, 1995).

The problem with this view, however, is that as a mirror, crime journalism is particularly distorted. A variety of sources have established that the news media, and television news in particular, flip the reality of crime occurrence on its head in two ways: First, by emphasizing violent crimes like murder or rape while ignoring commonplace ones like theft; and, second, by exaggerating crime at the expense of other important types of news (Ammons, Dimmick, & Pilotta, 1982; Gilliam, Iyengar, Simon, & Wright, 1996; Graber, 1979; Jaehnig, Weaver, & Fico, 1981; O'Keefe & Reed-Nash, 1987; Sheley & Ashkins, 1981). Our results corroborated these findings. In the City X study, stories about violent crime were reported anywhere from five to 10 times as often as stories about education and anywhere from 10 to 33 times as often as stories concerning welfare and poverty issues (See Table 1 and Fig. 1). Even as the crime rate was decreasing nationally and in City X (See Gilliam, Iyengar, Simon, & Wright, 1996), the emphasis on crime outweighed the time spent on education and welfare—other, "socially more significant" issues that were of interest at the time (Graber, 1979, p. 86). If television news about crime is supposed to be a mirror, it is a carnival one, exaggerating the dangers of crime with astonishing—and apparently unnecessary—regularity.

Of course, some could counter that journalism simply needs to police itself better (Gade, 1997) and that by changing the amount of coverage devoted to crime, public opinion regarding

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crime would change. This thinking suggests that people's minds are essentially empty vessels and that the thoughts and impressions those minds contain simply reflect whatever symbols the media deposits—or, rather, "sows"—in them (Ogles & Sparks, 1989, p. 2). From this perspective, changing crime coverage would reconfigure the jumble in people's heads, thus changing their thoughts about race and crime.

One problem lies in acquiring the resolve to make the changes in the first place. But in addition, as mentioned earlier, this behaviorist model might not be fully explanatory. In fact, figuring out exactly how crime coverage influences the audience is incredibly difficult (Lembo & Tucker, 1990). While some studies warn of the dire effects of the overemphasis on crime (Gilliam, Iyengar, Simon, & Wright, 1996; Graber, 1979; Jaehnig, Weaver, & Fico, 1981), others are not so sure (O'Keefe & Reed-Nash, 1987; Sheley & Ashkins, 1981; Warr, 1995).

Warr (1995) in particular grapples with the ambiguity. While crime seems to ignite fierce emotions in the public, he says, actual fear of crime has remained relatively constant for the past two decades. What is more, he says, people polled about crime give "surprisingly sophisticated and reflective" answers that "exhibit a high degree of subtlety, nuance, and ethical reasoning" (p. 296; see also Jensen, 1990). The media's emphasis on crime certainly contributes to public opinion and encourages public concern about crime, but how its influence actually works seems extraordinarily complex. People's reactions to and feelings about crime seem to come from an active weighing of the stories they see on television (See Jensen, 1990; Lembo & Tucker, 1990). The notion that the audience is a group of passive pupils receiving information from the news seems inadequate. Consequently, simply smoothing the warps out of the mirror of society may not be the final answer.

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In other words, while reporters are not trying to be self-serving or racist by objecting as they do to accusations that their coverage is biased, their notion that the news media are just purveyors of information is incomplete. That the news is more than a mirror is particularly obvious whenever journalists try to explain why stations feel the need to broadcast so many crime stories in the first place. In City X, he station managers—and even the minority advocates themselves—mentioned that news programs are under economic pressure to broadcast violent crime stories because people just seem to want to see them (See Gilliam, Iyengar, Simon, & Wright, 1996; Graber, 1979; Sheley and Ashkins, 1981; Katz, 1987; also Shaver, 1995). Although journalists did not want to go as far as to say that "if it bleeds, it leads"—they found the phrase antiquated and repugnant—they still suggested that violent crime held inherent interest. The visual drama can be intense, they said, and emotional interest runs high, especially when the crime is heinous. Those of a more cynical stripe would call these broadcasters postmodern purveyors of bread and circus. But is this really the case?

Katz (1987) suggests another way to view the phenomenon. In his study of New York newspaper stories on crime, Katz noticed that, for the most part, crimes that made the news "[called] into question a moral boundary recurrently defined by adults in everyday modern life" (1987, p. 50). While Katz created several categories to illustrate this principle, the crime stories he saw, generally speaking, challenged the audience's expectations of what human beings are capable of doing—whether it was stupid, amazing, or perverse—and its ideas of what the community commonly values. Imagine, for instance, the audience's reaction to this story about a local rape in the City X sample:

> *Reporter*: Police have seen it all, but this is certainly a new one for them. What the rapist did was he used this device to scare his victim. It's a "Club," and you may have seen it

> before. It's actually used to go on your steering wheel to prevent people from stealing your car. Now, what this 28-year-old woman told police is that she was here in [a local] neighborhood. She had just left a convenience store. She was walking home. She noticed somebody following her and became very nervous. But before she knew it, he had disappeared, and then as if he had come out of nowhere, this man shows up in a car, approaches her, pulls out the "Club" and says, "Get in the car or else you'll get the 'Club.'" She told police that she feared for her life and had no choice but to get into the vehicle.

The reporter's storytelling is chilling, and some journalists might argue that it sensationalizes. Yet, this harrowing story is fascinating, and not just because of the emotion-arousing storytelling. The piece captures the imagination, partly because of the rapist's cunning ingenuity and partly because a safety device became twisted into a dangerous weapon. The story presents the audience with new, shocking details about people's inhumanity to each other, expanding the audience's ideas about "the nature and limits of personal competence and sensibility" (Katz, 1987, p. 50). In addition, the rapist's choice of the "Club" as a weapon forces the viewers[MP3][MP4] to wonder about how even devices they use to protect themselves can be used against them. The rapist did more than attack his victim; he assaulted the audience's ideas about personal safety. The story, therefore, generates interest on multiple levels. It also teaches people about living in their world. It expands and refines the audience's ideas about their social environment (See Parisi, 1998). As viewers see the story unfold, the socially constructed boundaries of their world shift.

The picture of active viewers who engage news stories in the task of boundary construction contradicts the suggestion that people watch crime stories simply out of perverse

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attraction or as an unthinking ritual (Ogles & Sparks, 1989). Indeed, Katz (1987) remarks that many times the audience turns to shocking crime stories in an "attempt to sustain [its] conviction that [its] own moral sensibility has not yet been brutalized into a jaded indifference" (p. 67). More importantly, Katz suggests, the meanings people attach to these stories give them a hint about what it takes to live in an ever-changing world:

> As members of society continuously confront issues of personal and collective competence, they develop an appetite for crime news. Worrying about miscalculating their own and others' personal abilities, people find interesting the questioning of personal moral competence that is often intensely dramatized in crime stories. Repeatedly assessing whether, how, and how effectively certain people, organizations and places represent collective identity, members of society consume tales about the vulnerable integrity of personages, institutions, and sites (1987, p. 69).

Changing circumstances require that people constantly return to crime news to find new wrinkles in their worlds, a process Katz calls "a daily moral workout" (1987, p. 70; see also the way tragic drama seems to do similar things in Farrell, 1993; also Barnhurst & Wartella, 1991). With each story, the narrative that shapes the bounds of the audience's lives shifts. Thus, television news reports of crime, far from being simple informational stories told in isolation, are actually part of a much larger, highly complex, and continually evolving conversation about the boundaries of the audience's world (See also Lembo & Tucker, 1990; Shaver, 1995).

The notion that a crime story can do more than simply inform or entertain, that it plays a sociological role in defining social boundaries, leads us toward the narrative paradigm. The narrative paradigm, introduced to the communication field by Fisher (1984, 1987) and spurred by MacIntyre (1984), suggests that stories "give order to human experience and . . . establish ways

of living in common, in communities in which there is sanction for the story that constitutes one's life" (Fisher 1984, p. 6). In other words, stories help people to make sense out of their world, their history, and their activities (See MacIntyre, 1984; Fisher, 1984, 1987; Ricoeur, 1985/1988a-c; Schrag, 1986) and to define the context of their greater community (See Hauerwas, 1981). Stories—long and short, factual and fictional—play vital roles in psychology, sociology, and ethics.

But while Fisher's paradigm is intriguing, does it really apply to news stories? As Parisi (1998) and most journalism professors would point out, of course, news stories are indeed narratives, not just listings of facts. But when narrative scholars like MacIntyre (1984) or Hauerwas (1981) talk about narratives, they often seem to be talking about important, influential cultural texts like the Bible, which is obviously capable of structuring people's lives and defining civilizations. In comparison, the news story, especially a television news story, seems far too short and short-term to be important for narrative analysis. Some stories last 30 seconds or so, and it is often difficult to remember them from one day to the next. Yet news stories are important for two reasons. First, although narratives and narrative traditions are indeed expansive, complex things, they also emerge over time and weave together smaller stories like the daily reportage of the police blotter. For instance, an important cultural narrative such as the Bible, which looks like a single document from our perspective, is in reality a conglomeration of different stories and anecdotes, different narrators, and different traditions woven together over time (See, for instance, Brueggemann, 1982). In a sense, the stories we see on the news are part of a similar, on-going process of human communal narration. News stories and fragments of stories, told and retold, weave themselves together into a narrative as people judge particular "speech acts" or stories and accept them as true (Fisher 1984, 1987). Over time, this narrative

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becomes what Schrag calls a narrative "'texture'" (1986, p. 23), a complex set of meanings, stories, and symbols that both define particular speech acts and transcend them, often on a pre-personal, unconscious level (see also Bormann, 1985; Strasser, 1985). And as the audience continually consumes the new stories and new motifs, as Katz (1987) suggests it does, the texture of meaning that defines those stories and motifs—the narrative—constantly evolves in response to the historical moment (Ricoeur 1985/1988c; see also Hauerwas, 1981; Schrag, 1986). Viewed in this way, news stories become the inchoate beginnings of a community narrative—what Rosen calls "a master narrative" in civic journalism (1997, p. 16)—that has the potential to shape how people think and act. Although a single news story cannot make a narrative, hundreds of them broadcast over time *can* compose one.

Schrag's (1986) understanding of narrative textures also suggests that news stories simultaneously emerge from the narratives they construct. Reporters telling stories are situated within a particular narrative texture that shapes what they say and what they see as important. When deciding whether an event is important enough to talk about or when sorting out the facts of a story under production, reporters prioritize what they see and hear based on the history of the issue, their audience, and a myriad of other factors. This process of prioritization also has an impact on how reporters write their stories (see Parisi, 1998). To make the story easier to understand, for instance, they might place the story into a familiar "stock scenario"—a story "repeated again and again with the same or similar characters"—to help the audience figure out what is happening without discussing the whole situation in detail (Bormann, 1985, p. 132; see also Jensen, 1990; Lembo & Tucker, 1990). And on the other end, viewers have to rely on the same set of common knowledge they share with the reporters to make sense out of what they see and read. The audience, too, understands the histories behind the issue, and it recognizes the

story forumlas that the reporter use. The construction and understanding of narratives thus takes place on a common narrative texture. Reporters tell stories based on shared histories and narratives, and the audience uses those same histories and narratives to discern what the reporters have to say.

Having a common narrative texture is particularly necessary in many television news stories, where the news "reports facts" and relies on viewers to interpret meaning. Take this actual broadcast report, for instance, which is typical on evening news programs:

> *Anchor*: If convicted, should he get the death penalty? A judge will consider that question tomorrow during a hearing scheduled for [a] 26-year-old [defendant]. He is charged with killing [a] 20-year-old [victim] by pushing her down a mine shaft in [a local] township back in January. State police arrested [the defendant] after he confessed to that crime.

Though short, many would call this a story. It has characters (whom the viewer sees in the attendant visual footage), a fragment of plot (murder), and a dismal setting (the mine shaft is also shown). The story is tantalizing but fragmentary. In order to make sense of the story, the audience, working from the facts of the case, must speculate about the mystery that remains. What led up to the crime? Was it an act of passion or premeditated? How did it happen? To answer these questions, the people seeing it have to connect it to impressions, stories, and anecdotes they have heard before. And perhaps the reporter who wrote the story is depending on the audience to do just that. Viewers thinking about the piece, for instance, may put it into the stock story of domestic violence among Rust Belt, blue collar families. In turn, they can fill in the gaps, perhaps turning this short piece into a much more complex story: The perpetrator was angry, possessive. . . . His anger was tied to the economic depression in a region dotted by

abandoned mines and industrial sites. . . . The victim, terrified for her life. . . . He brought her to a lonely place. . . . They had an argument. . . . He lost control. . . . No doubt, as Lembo and Tucker (1990) suggest, people may have interpreted this story in countless ways, and some may have ignored the story entirely. Nevertheless, the example does suggest how the common experiences reporters and audiences have shape the creation and understanding of stories (Schrag 1986). Thus, this short story takes on a meaning much broader than the words on the teleprompter.

Crime news then, as part of an on-going process of communal narrating, has a sociological importance, and that importance expands when elements of race are involved. Race is a social construction created from a wide variety of sources, including the media, that shapes our feelings and actions toward others and our definitions of ourselves vis-a-vis those others (Downing & Husband, 1995; Higginbotham, 1992; Lewis, 1995; McPhail, 1994). If we understand that people use crime stories to define expectations of what behaviors are acceptable within the community (Katz, 1987), what happens when members of a particular social group, such as African Americans, frequently play the parts of the criminals who reside outside of the boundaries of "normal" society? Consider this particularly telling story:

> *Anchor (white)*: An emotional scene in a city courtroom as a suspected killer learns she will stand trial. [The] 23-year-old [black defendant] here is accused of stabbing her stepmother to death in [a local neighborhood]. Police say [the defendant] has admitted to killing [her stepmother]. After the judge announced his decision and she was being taken away, [the defendant] cried and screamed for her mother.
>
> *Defendant, black, shown being dragged from the courtroom clutching a Bible)*: Mommy! Mommy! I want my mommy!

Defense attorney (white): It's a tragedy, and I think that's all I can say, and that's why it's a concern. We're concerned for the victim. I think they're all victims in this case.

Anchor (white): She was screaming for her birth mother. Police are still figuring out a motive in the case, but say there was an argument. No one is saying if there was a history of trouble between the two women.

This story stands on shaky ethical ground. The emotional outburst is largely irrelevant to the facts of the case, and neither of the other two stations showed this footage. But journalistic procedure aside, the imagery of the sobbing defendant could shape how individual audience members will characterize black females[MP5] in the future. As the only black of note in the story, the defendant is also set apart as the only person not in control of her emotions. In characterizing the black woman as someone different from—and inferior to—the viewer (See Downing & Husband, 1995), the news story sustains structures of meaning that, over time, strengthen racial stereotypes and racist thinking.

Studies coming from other analytical perspectives would agree that the media shape public opinion of African Americans through characterizations in crime stories (Gilliam, Iyengar, Simon, & Wright, 1996; Graber, 1979; Jaehnig, Weaver, & Fico, 1981). But the narrative perspective makes two contributions. First, by suggesting that reporters and the audience use common cultural vocabularies to tell and understand stories, the narrative paradigm pulls the audience back into the social construction process as active participants. The narrative paradigm thus begins to explain the complex relationship among race, crime news, and the body politic and adds to explanations provided by other models, like the cultivation theory.

Second, and perhaps more importantly, narrative theory provides a way to explain both the public's interest in crime stories and the problems they cause. Crime stories play a complex

and potentially dangerous role in modern society. While they help people to set boundaries on their world, they become problematic whenever they inadvertently assert that one group of people is outside those boundaries. Removing or eviscerating crime stories from the news seems unlikely but finding ways to deal with their problematic elements is desirable.

Functional implications of the narrative paradigm

In addition to redefining the problem of race and crime news, the narrative paradigm suggests ways to deal with the problem functionally. One of the most useful insights is that any effort to work with racial narratives must include the audience as a deeply involved part of the storytelling process. This inclusion differentiates the narrative perspective from more behaviorist media models. Fisher (1984, 1987) sees members of the audience rationally assessing stories as to their truthfulness and plausibility. Ricoeur (1985/1988b) also sees the audience as deeply involved and suggests that readers play delicate balancing acts between perspectives in stories, to some extent actually defining and creating the plots they read. In fact, Ricoeur asserts that a narrative without a reader is incomplete (1985/1988b & c).

Many City X stories even directly acknowledged the idea Ricoeur puts forth. In this one, for instance, the anchor actually invited the audience's participation:

> *Anchor*: Local police and FBI are asking for your help in finding a bank robber suspect. Thanks to a surveillance camera, police have a good, clean, clear picture of a man suspected of holding up [a local bank] two weeks ago. Now take a good look. He's 6'3", he appears to be in his 40s. If you recognize him, please call [local] police or FBI.

This is more than a "public service" crime announcement that many stations—including some of the ones studied here—broadcast from time to time. The anchor here is actually asking the audience to complete the story, to become a participant in the crime drama by "solving" the

crime. There is an interaction here between the story and the audience, an interaction that, for some, is as old as rhetoric itself (See Farrell, 1993; Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1958/1969). Such interaction has also been noted by several media scholars. Jensen (1990), for instance, suggests that members of the audience scan media to determine "the means and ends of mass communication" (p. 142). Barnhurst and Wartella's (1991) study suggests that the preference of many young people for the local and immediately important stories leads them to prioritize news differently than adults do (See also Jensen, 1990). Far from being empty vessels through which information passed, the young people studied made value-based decisions about their media intake. Lembo and Tucker (1990) suggest that audiences actually engage in "a struggle over social meaning" (p. 111) and do not acquiesce to whatever view the media portray. From the narrative perspective, then, people seeing a news story are active viewers, using the stories they hear to create the boundaries that structure their lives. Such an active audience can produce the sophisticated ethical judgements on crime that Warr (1995) found.

Audience involvement becomes key when one considers the racial baggage that the audience brings to the broadcast. Robert Entman (1992) writes about "'modern' racism," a more subtle and quieter form of traditional racism (p. 342). While "whites who have modern racist sentiments do not necessarily believe that blacks are inherently inferior or that discrimination should be legal," he says, some "whites . . . feel . . . some amalgam of negative affect (especially fear and resentment), rejection of the political agenda commonly endorsed by black leaders, and 'denial that racism is still a problem" (1992, p. 342). Entman argues that the media are responsible for sustaining modern racism—even when they make efforts to hire minority journalists:

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> The positive images of black authority in local news may unwittingly have two simultaneous effects: on one level, black anchors demonstrate that blacks are capable of behaving according to and reporting from the perspective of dominant white values. But on another level, the innocuous black anchors may also reinforce whites' impatience with the poor or demanding blacks who appear so frequently as news subjects. The anchors' very presence suggests that if blacks just keep quiet and work hard, the system will indeed allow them to make progress and even earn more money than most whites. Showing attractive, articulate blacks in such a prestigious public role implies that blacks are not inherently inferior or socially undesirable—and that racism is no longer a serious impediment to black progress. The image that undermines old-fashioned racism may promote modern racism. Ironically, local stations' responsiveness to the interests of black audiences in seeing black role models may produce imagery that bolsters modern racism, even if it also helps diminish traditional racism (1992, p. 358).

Entman's critique is subtle and compels us to ask whether racism and racial narratives are so deeply rooted in the American narrative that television stations reinforce racial stereotypes even when they are trying their best not to. Hope for finding a perfect news broadcast seems fleeting when narratives are so ingrained in the audience's mind that even the subtlest cues allegedly create stereotypes. The narrative paradigm's emphasis on audience takes Entman's analysis seriously in that it suggests that a functional solution to the problem of racial coverage has to deal with the deeply problematic racial narratives audiences use to interpret news.

But the narrative paradigm also suggests that changing racial narratives may not be as easy as some media scholars think. Part of the problem is that crime news is only one part of the media landscape. Schrag (1986) sees communication as taking place "within a holistic horizon of praxial

space that encompasses the particular actions of individuals and institutions, but also extends beyond them" (p. 38; see also Bormann, 1985). Crime stories, no matter how important, are really only single threads in a vastly larger patchwork quilt of histories and fictions. From this perspective, one sees that television stations exist in an environment filled with negative messages that they cannot control. The audience that seeks out crime stories listens to a variety of voices, not just the news. Infomercials hawking the latest in crime fighting gadgetry, television cop shows, tabloid television, and reality-based crime programs like "Cops" or "America's Most Wanted" tell stories that could be just as powerful as the news accounts of crime in shaping stereotypes and characterizations and are not subject to journalistic constraints (See Downing & Husband, 1995). Changing racial narratives by reforming newscasts means working within a multi-voiced environment that could be continually undoing the progress a station makes.

In addition, dealing with racial narratives functionally means working with an extraordinarily complex construct. Racial narratives deal with more than crime. If the narrative of race in America is "a fluid set of overlapping discourses" as Higginbotham (1992, p. 255) suggests, then defining exactly what race "is" and how it works is incredibly difficult. Yet few would deny that race is one of the most, if not *the* most, serious divisions in American society. "Race not only tends to subsume other sets of social relations, namely gender and class, but it blurs and disguises, suppresses and negates its own comples interply with the very social relations it envelopes," Higgenbotham (1992, p. 255) contends.

The racial narratives that guide the audience's perceptions of news and the crime characterizations that feed into those narratives emerge from a context of struggle in economics and politics that all members of all racial and ethnic groups engage in (Entman, 1992; Higginbotham, 1992; Lewis, 1995; McPhail, 1994). The multifaceted nature of racial narratives

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means that facing the issue of minorities and crime reporting alone is not enough. To make a lasting impact, stations must find ways to address how race relates to politics, economics, health care, and education in addition to crime. Furthermore, any approach news organizations take must be responsive enough to change as the conception of race changes and as new problems develop. In City X and elsewhere, incidents of police brutality or Ku Klux Klan rallies change racial climates and create new issues. So does economic inequality. Working with racial narratives means working with how race is depicted in all types of stories, something that requires extensive study and reporting skill.

As a result, the highly complex, multi-voiced environment in which the news exists suggests that reporters, editors and intellectuals should temper their optimism. The news media are unlikely to change can people's minds about race by simply swapping one set of images for another. Narrative theorists like Schrag (1986) would probably counter that racial imagery is deeply woven into the narrative fabric that constitutes our lives. Working with racial news narratives alone would not eradicate racial stereotypes. The entire media and nonmediated culture, with its multitude of voices that exist outside of the control of responsible reporters and editors, sustains an extraordinarily complex narrative texture that militates against change.

Nonetheless, narratives *do* evolve as people turn to the news and other media in their daily conversation with the world (Katz, 1987). Re-sculpting American racial narratives through news reporting alone is impossible; however, if reporters, editors and intellectuals move from seeing troubling racial narratives as problems that can or cannot be "solved," they can then move toward seeing them as systemic problems that can be "managed," through concerted and sustained effort. A focus on narrative management means that journalists, intellectuals, and

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minority advocates can make a commitment to enter into a conversation and a continual reassessment of reporting strategies and their effects.

Narrative management also means that simply changing reporting "practices" without thinking about the communicative and cultural consequences is not enough. Stations in City X and elsewhere could adopt strict standards about violence and racial coverage, hire minority reporters and anchors, and cover more minority issues. No successful effort aimed at changing racial narratives could do without such efforts.

But more importantly, reporters should fatten their Rolodexes with minority sources and use them in stories throughout the broadcast. Entman (1992) might argue that quoting black experts (physicians, psychologists, academics, attorneys, etc.) is ineffective—and perhaps even harmful—if the stations do not think about how audiences view the news and how news stories work on social and cultural levels. Certainly, dealing seriously with race and crime news means becoming literate in the racial narrative landscape upon which contemporary life dwells and learning how to work in and with that landscape.

But Katz's (1987) shines a different light on Entman's ideas about modern racism. Katz contends that crime news—and many other kinds of news as well—helps readers orient themselves within a modern, urban environment, which requires them to make daily decisions about who is competent, honest, and worthy of trust. How, then, does this world look to the television viewer? City X viewers saw that in literally 99.99% of the sample stories that were not about crime, everyone on camera was white. In other words, blacks were never—or very rarely—seen as concerned parents at a school board meeting, politicians working through a thorny issue, scientists worrying about an environmental issue, or neighbors contesting a zoning law. They were criminals or the victims of crime and not much else.

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In this light, Entman's concern that the portrayal of competent blacks feeds modern American racism becomes part of a larger picture of how urban Americans form community and make sense of their complex world. While the actual urban world remains largely segregated, television news is one of the common places where races can meet to struggle with community issues. If the carnival mirror that is news shows only whites engaging with community issues while blacks engage in crime, racism of the old-fashioned sort is fed and nurtured.

Schragg's work (1986) can be used to see journalism as a form of communicative praxis, a "discourse by someone to someone about something" that understands and works with the narrative backgrounds that constitute human life (p. 185). Seeing crime reporting through the lens of theory-informed action means: first, accepting that reporters are creative storytellers who purposefully weave together symbols, tropes, and facts in ways that make an impact and are not just information gatherers who passively report whatever they see (Parisi, 1998). Second, it means understanding how the audience will interpret and use the stories reporters write, how the stories will affect the community narrative, and even how the community narratives influence what the reporters think is journalistically appropriate. Third, it means that reporters and editors need a sense of historical context to see how their stories matter within the life of the community. Praxis-oriented reporters do not collect and relay isolated bundles of facts but instead focus a myriad of concerns found within the community narrative. On this ground, narrative theory meets civic journalism.

Traditional journalists may argue that such sweeping concerns lie outside their mission to merely report the news. Yet, there is ample evidence that community narratives already play a major role news judgments. While polls routinely indicate stations must play crime stories for ratings (Winerip, 1998, p. 35), how graphically and sensationally those stories are played is

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weighed by the local news director's sense of community standards, journalists told us. For example, one television local news producer had recently moved to City X from the deep South when the Ku Klux Klan rally story broke under her news watch. Her station's coverage decisions were made after hours of agonizing conversations among the staff and between the staff and community leaders. The station did not want to inflame race relations, the producer said. By contrast, in the South, she reported, Klan activities are covered as routine events, if at all. She described City X as a "conservative, Catholic" and closely knit community when explaining her station's decision to emphasize the city's anti-Klan "Unity Rally" in its news coverage and to forgo a live helicopter shot when the Klansmen's gathering teetered on the edge of violence.

But journalists must go deeper than these current practices take them in order to combat what Entman (1992) and others have described as "modern racism." As Peter Parisi (1998) points out, well-intentioned journalists

> may be lured into stereotyping coverage by their assumption that their stories of individual lives are simply true. Assessments of journalistic performance must recognize ever more clearly that the accuracy of facts is only the first step toward larger 'truth' and social responsibility. Factual reporting is not innocent but serves one structure of values or another. ... the point is to urge recognition that overarching rhetorical frames and political values inevitably inform any act of story-telling. (p. 248)

Narrative theory presents an intriguing way of doing journalism with greater self consciousness. A few models adapt the insights that the theory provides. The civic journalism movement, which began as an attempt to find ways to help citizens to address issues more effectively (Charity, 1995; Rosen, 1994, 1997), includes narrative in its analysis. It offers a

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perspective on reporting that allows journalists to consider the social and cultural implications of their work while still being journalists (Charity, 1995; Patterson, 1997; Rosen, 1994, 1997; see also Zelizer, 1993). Rosen (1997) suggests that overarching "master narratives" define how reporters and the audience approach stories and that change comes by reformulating those "master narrative[s] so [they produce] good stories that simultaneously tell the truth about public life and create a public space for remaking the truth" (p. 16). Certainly civic journalism has weathered and is weathering considerable criticism (See the debate between Gade, 1997, and Patterson, 1997, for instance). But by being open to how news stories work in the world, civic journalism opens the door to conceptual approaches that can address the problem of race and crime coverage by blending a sensitivity to narrative structures with a respect for journalistic values.

Conclusion

Although narrative theory suggests that changing racial narratives is, at best, an incredibly slow, difficult and piecemeal process, it also suggests that reporters and editors can learn to manage problematic ones through concerted effort. Racial narratives emerge from a context of symbols and stories in which crime stories play an important part. Thus, from the narrative perspective, crime news plays vital cultural and sociological functions in addition to informing, educating, and perhaps entertaining. The insights of the narrative paradigm broaden informational or educational models of news and suggest that those models could ignore some of the ways people use the news. Moreover, the idea that news itself plays a role in shaping culture—rather than simply informing other people who then make decisions (Gade, 1997)—calls the news to be accountable for the stories it tells beyond simply monitoring the correctness of its information. Consequently, journalists must search for a new, praxis-oriented model for journalism to meet that

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call. Civic journalism, because it can blend the information-gathering techniques of news with a cultural perspective, could be just such a model. To do so, both the practice and the scholarship of civic journalism should increasing emphasize its day-to-day praxis and move away the exclusive focus on big projects. Perhaps, using civic journalism and other models as guides, reporters and editors can find ways to address race and crime news that both meet the needs of a diverse community and find common ground in the seemingly interminable argument between the news media and the minority community.

Endnotes

[1] Entman (1992) suggests that television news feeds "modern racism," a subtle form of racial thinking that resides in white people's often covert distrust of blacks and objections to pro-minority legislation (p. 342). Minority, and in particular African-American, anchors and reporters contribute to modern racism because their apparent success suggests to whites that racism is a thing of the past and that poor minority people deserve their lot. "Ironically," he says, "local stations' responsiveness to the interests of black audiences in seeing black role models may produce imagery that bolsters modern racism, even if it also helps diminish traditional racism" (p. 358).

[2] This study was originally conducted in conjunction with an ongoing conversation about race and news coverage between three local minority advocacy groups and the City X news media. The minority groups, which acquired a small grant to support the study, agreed that the authors could conduct their research with complete freedom and independence.

[3] An effort was made to make sure that the report included news broadcasts that were parallel to each other. That is, the broadcast for one station on May 19 was compared to the May 19 broadcasts for the other two, and so on. However, some of the tapes were defective or were missing, causing some broadcasts to lack broadcasts to compare them with. For the most part, the tapes that could not be compared to others were excluded. However, to broaden the sample size, three tapes without mates were included. They did not disturb the results, however.

[4] In some of these instances, the audience might have assumed race, however. Frequently, reports identified perpetrators' and victims' neighborhoods, which many viewers would know were predominantly black or white.

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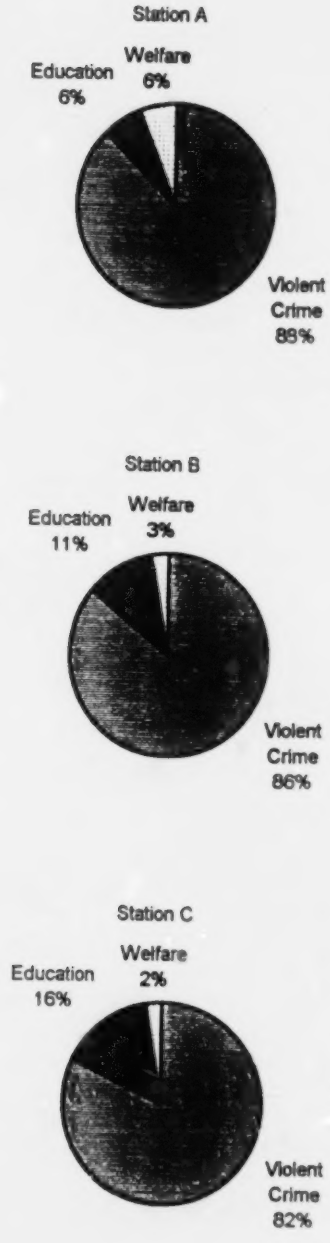
[5] The researchers were present in order to answer questions when the study's results were discussed by representatives of local minorities rights groups and the general managers and news directors at each of the three stations studied. Parts of these conversations are reported in the analysis.

Table 1

Distribution of story topics (number of incidents)			
	Violent Crime	Education	Welfare
Station A	56	4	4
Station B	90	12	3
Station C	99	19	3

Figure 1

Distribution of story topics (number of incidents)



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Diversity in Local Television News: A clogged pipeline?

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Abstract

The article presents a survey of television news directors in markets ranked between 100th and 150th nationally in terms of size, where aspiring TV news anchors and reporters get their first jobs. Entry-level hiring is done primarily by white males and reflects their perceptions of the local audience, the perceived difficulty of finding qualified applicants and the relatively low priority placed on diversity. Minorities are under-represented among actual hires for on-air positions, contributing to an industry-wide shortage of diverse on-air talent.

Diversity in Local Television News: A clogged pipeline?

Thirty years after the Federal Communications Commission established its 1969 Equal Employment Opportunity rules for the broadcasting industry, women and minorities have established a significant presence on national and local television newscasts. In 1998, women accounted for about one third of network correspondents and delivered 28 percent of the network news reports. In that same year, minorities represented 20 percent of network correspondents and delivered 15 percent of the reports (Foote, 1999). Although the top evening news anchor chairs at ABC, NBC and CBS continue to be filled exclusively by white men, much progress has been made since a 1977 report from the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights[1] concluded that women and minorities were often little more than "window dressing on the set" (Stone, 1988). Further progress is encouraged by industry publications reminding today's news directors that "hiring people who mirror the society means your coverage is stronger and more targeted to your news audience"(Papper & Gerhard, 1999a).

In 1998, however, the courts struck down the FCC guidelines that provided a roadmap for encouraging diversity in television news.[2] Even prior to the removal of this legal mandate, there were indications that the trend toward greater representation of women and minorities had stalled. According to national surveys of local television stations conducted for the Radio-Television News Directors Foundation, the number of minorities in the TV news workforce has stagnated in the 20 percent range for several years, slipping to 19 percent in 1999. Meanwhile, the same surveys reveal that the

percentage of women in TV newsrooms has never approached that of women in the general population (51 percent), reaching only 39 percent in 1999 (Papper & Gerhard, 1999b). These figures reflect the overall composition of a news organization's staff, including managers, producers, photographers and other positions behind the scenes. But do these overall industry statistics mask the face the industry is presenting to the public through its highly visible on-air talent? The present research attempts to gauge the gender and ethnic diversity of news, sports and weather talent seen on the air in entry-level markets.

The TV news talent pool can be compared to baseball's league structure, where the players gain experience in the farm system and demonstrate their talent in the minor leagues in order to move up to the majors. For those interested in anchoring or reporting on the air, the typical career path begins with a job presenting news, sports or weather on a local newscast in a small market (Shook, 1989). Markets are ranked by the A.C. Nielsen Company according to the number of households served, with New York and Los Angeles ranking first and second, respectively. In the top 50 markets and at the major national networks, at least three to five years of experience in smaller markets is the standard prerequisite for anchors and reporters in news, sports and weather. With rare exception, recent college graduates and other beginners lack the experience and skills to be competitive in the 100 largest markets (Filoreto & Setzer, 1993). Thus the "smaller" markets – those ranked 100th or higher in size – are the point of entry into the news talent pipeline. Aspiring anchors and reporters who fail to get into the pipeline at the entry level

have virtually no chance to gain the on-camera experience required to compete successfully at higher levels. Consequently, the news directors who do the hiring in markets ranked 100th and higher are the "gatekeepers" of television news talent. The current work attempts to describe these gatekeepers and assess the extent to which their hiring decisions promote gender and ethnic diversity in these crucial entry-level markets.

Method

Procedure. In the spring of 1999, self-administered surveys were mailed to 150 news directors of stations whose markets ranked between 100th and 150th nationally in size. All stations were network affiliates of NBC, CBS or ABC. The seven-page survey included the news directors' assessment of the ethnic composition of their market; the gender, ethnicity and education level of their on-air staff; their own gender, ethnicity and age as well as a range of factors that may influence their hiring decisions.

Results

Participants. Sixty-eight surveys were returned for an overall response rate of 45 percent. An analysis comparing those stations whose news directors returned the survey to those who did not revealed no significant differences in terms of market size or geographic location. As evident in Table 1, those who did respond were a fairly homogeneous group

of white males with at least a bachelor's degree. Our data revealed few minorities in the news directors' offices in markets 100-150. While women comprised 17.4 percent of the sample, minorities were virtually absent with no respondents self-identifying as African American, Asian or Native-American and only 2.2 percent Hispanic.

Insert Table 1 about here

But while the news directors themselves were not a particularly diverse group it does not preclude the possibility that they nevertheless hire a diverse group of on-air talent. The following analyses report the breakdown of on-air talent at these 68 stations in terms of race and gender.

Profile of on-air talent by gender and ethnicity.

While still slightly under their prevalence in the general population (51 percent), women were fairly well represented in these markets holding 45 percent of the on-air positions. Interestingly, 75 percent of the stations (52 of the 68) reported that all of their on-air women held at least a bachelor's degree. In contrast, only 63 percent of these stations (43 of the 68) had similarly high standards for their male reporters. A nonparametric Chi-square analysis revealed this disparity to be statistically significant ($p < .05$).

Ethnic minorities were less well represented as shown in Table 2. Whereas current estimates by the United States Census Bureau (May, 1999) indicate that approximately 72 percent of the nation is white, our respondents indicated that 84 percent

of the on-air talent at these stations fall into this category. The under-representation of minorities is most striking in the specialties of sports and weather, with whites holding 90 percent of the on-air sports jobs and 94 percent of the weather positions.

Insert Table 2 about here

Although these data reveal a relative shortage of ethnically diverse talent in our sample, they fail to specify the reason underlying this shortage. For instance, it is quite plausible that there are simply too few qualified nonwhite candidates in the talent pool. The following analyses examine our respondents' perceptions of the ethnicity of their specific market, the perceived difficulty of finding qualified minority talent and the relative importance they place on reflecting an ethnically diverse audience.

Perceived ethnicity of market.

One could argue that our news directors were merely yielding to the demands of their particular marketplace. In other words, perhaps they were attempting to hire on-air talent reflective of the population in their own individual markets. If this were the case, we would expect the distribution of hires to closely mirror our respondents' perceptions of the ethnic diversity within each specific market. Figure 1 presents a comparison of the distribution of hires within our markets by ethnicity, our respondents' perceptions of their own markets and national census estimates for May 1999.

Insert Figure 1 about here

As can be seen in Figure 1, a gap exists between actual on-air talent from our current sample and the news directors' estimates of their own markets' diversity. Whites are over-represented in terms of on-air talent both in terms of the U.S. Census figures as well as the "gatekeepers" own perceptions of their markets. In contrast, Latin Americans/Hispanics who comprise 10 percent of our target markets (and who by official count represent 11 percent of the U.S. population although this is generally acknowledged to be an undercount) account for only 4 percent of the on-air talent in our sample.

Perceived difficulty in hiring on-air talent.

Our gatekeepers reported comparatively little difficulty in finding qualified female applicants for on-air positions. When asked to respond to the statement, "We have a hard time finding talented women to fill on-air jobs", 57 percent strongly disagreed and an additional 35 percent somewhat disagreed. On a 4-point scale where 1 means strongly disagree and 4 means strongly agree, the mean score for this item was 1.59 with a standard deviation of .70.

However, responses to the item "We have a hard time finding talented minorities to fill on-air jobs" painted a very different picture. The mean response was 2.96 on the same 4-point scale (standard deviation of .85) with 27 percent of our sample strongly agreeing and an additional 50 percent somewhat agreeing. With over three-quarters of our sample agreeing with this statement, it appears that at least part of the problem lies in the difficulty of identifying and attracting qualified on-air minority candidates. But how

hard are these "gatekeepers" trying? The final analysis presented looks at the relative importance placed on ethnic diversity in the hiring process.

Relative importance of hiring minorities.

Respondents were asked to indicate on a five-point scale, where a zero implies "not at all important" and a four implies "very important," how important they considered the following factors to be in their hiring decisions: strong writer, on-air appearance, strong work ethic, knowledge of local market, previous performance and whether the job candidate represents a minority community. As shown in Figure 2, of these five factors representing the minority community was fourth in relative importance.

Insert Figure 2 about here

Only 13 percent reported that minority representation was very important in their hiring considerations. Thus, it appears that the dearth of ethnic diversity on television news is due, at least in part, to the relatively low priority placed on representing the minority community on the air.

Attitudes and on-air hires as a function of the gender of the "gatekeeper"

Despite the relatively small number of women (only 12 of the 68 or approximately 17 percent of the sample) some systematic differences emerged in attitudes and behavior as a function of the gender of the "gatekeeper." More specifically, female news directors were significantly less likely to report that they had difficulty finding qualified minorities for on-air positions (2.50 out of a possible 4 for men versus

3.05 for women, $F(1,66) = 4.36$, $p < .04$). Furthermore, female gatekeepers were more likely to actually hire African American as anchors and Hispanics as reporters and sportscasters ($p < .05$). Finally, female gatekeepers were significantly more likely to hire other women (50 percent of on-air talent versus 43 percent for the male gatekeepers, $F(1,66) = 2.79$, $p<.05$).

There were also differences by gender in terms of what criteria were used during hiring. Male gatekeepers tended to rely more heavily on hiring former interns (2.0 for men versus 1.4 on a 4-point scale, $F(1,66) = 3.37$, $p < .05$) whereas female gatekeepers tended to rely more heavily on word of mouth (2.6 for women versus 1.97 for men, $F(1,66) = 3.37$, $p < .05$).

These gender differences may be due, in part, to the fact that the male news directors in our sample were significantly older (mean age of 41 years) than their female counterparts (mean age of 33; $F(1,66) = 7.533$, $p < .001$). Unfortunately, because of the low number of minority gatekeepers in our sample, we were unable to do a similar analysis for minority news directors.

Discussion

The faces we see on the nightly network news do not accurately reflect the demographics of the viewing public. While three decades of government-mandated affirmative action in the broadcasting industry have produced greater on-air diversity, the proportion of minorities and women still lags behind their prevalence in the general

population. One reason cited for the dearth of female and minority talent in the top ranks of television news is the relative shortage of qualified candidates rising through the ranks from the smaller markets. The present research attempted to shed light on the hiring considerations and practices currently in place in these entry-level markets by surveying news directors of stations that ranged from 100th to 150th in size.

One finding from our survey is that the news directors themselves were themselves fairly homogenous in terms of ethnicity and gender. Eighty-three percent of the sample were men and 97.8 percent self-identified as being of European descent or white. No respondents self-identified as African American, Asian American or Native American and only 2 percent of the sample were Hispanic. Our findings mirror the numbers from the RTNDA survey of news directors in markets ranked 101 to 150 (Papper & Gerhard, 1999b).

Would more diversity among the gatekeepers make a difference in hiring for on-air positions? Our data suggests that female news directors are more open to diverse hires but with so few minority news directors in our sample we were unable to provide a parallel analysis. Indeed, the RTNDA has recognized the need for more proactive policies to bring people of color into top management positions in TV news, passing a resolution in June 2000 to "hire develop and retain top managers and executives who reflect the diverse makeup of the communities we serve."[3]

But while the news directors themselves were not a particularly diverse group in our sample, they could, nevertheless, seek out and hire a diverse group of on-air talent.

Our data reveal, at best, a mixed scorecard. Women, while still slightly under their prevalence in the general population (51 percent), were fairly well presented in these key markets holding 45 percent of the on-air positions, higher than the 1999 RTNDF survey figure showing that women accounted for 39 percent of all jobs in TV newsrooms regardless of market size. Minorities did not fare quite so well in markets 100 and above, filling only 16 percent of the on-air talent jobs. This figure can be juxtaposed against official estimates by the U.S. Census Bureau (May, 1999) that indicate approximately 28 percent of the nation fall into this category.

One possible explanation for this disparity is that news directors at smaller, less urban stations are under pressure to mirror, not the national demographics, but rather to reflect the communities they serve. Yet when asked to describe the demographics of their own markets our respondents painted a picture that was remarkably similar to the national average. In short, minorities are under-represented on-air both in terms of the U.S. Census figures as well as the "gatekeepers" own perceptions of their markets.

This gap was particularly striking with regard to Latin Americans. While news directors in our sample estimated that 9.4 percent of their audience were Latino, only four percent of the on-air talent in our sample were identified as such – approximately one-third of their true prevalence in the general population. This shortfall becomes even more noticeable when larger markets turn to the smaller stations to find experienced candidates to fill more prestigious, higher-paying on-air positions. Returning to our baseball

analogy, a major league news director in Los Angeles, serving a designated market area (DMA) that is 28.1 percent Hispanic according to A.C. Nielsen, would find relatively few promising Hispanic newcomers in the "farm system" as represented by our gatekeeper markets.

What factors underlie this on-air under-representation of minorities? One possible reason for the reduced flow at the entry level could be a shortage of applicants. Over three-quarters of our sample reported experiencing at least some difficulty identifying and attracting qualified minority candidates for on-air jobs. (Interestingly, only 8 percent acknowledged difficulty identifying and attracting qualified female candidates.) This complaint is not new. Analyzing the historical record of minority hiring in the industry since the 1967 Kerner Report, Wilson and Gutierrez (1985; p. 167) point out that "the most common reason given by news media executives for their poor hiring record has been that they can't find 'qualified' minorities."

There is evidence to suggest that this shortage may originate early in the pipeline. In their study of journalism schools, Becker and Kosicki (1999, p.7) reported that "many schools do not keep or are unable to share information on the gender, race or ethnicity of their students," with only 43 percent of their sample providing data on the race and ethnicity of their undergraduates. Of those schools providing an ethnic and racial breakdown, African Americans earned 10.3 percent of the bachelor's degrees, Hispanics 5.8 percent, Asians 3.1 percent and Native Americans 0.7 percent, paralleling our Figure 1 breakdown of the actual hires for talent in the entry-level markets. The picture is

considerably brighter for women, who account for about 60 percent of the enrollments and degrees granted in journalism schools and 45 percent of the on-air positions in the markets we surveyed. When considering enrollment figures, journalism schools actually lost ground on diversity from 1997 to 1998, with white undergraduates increasing slightly from 71 to 72.9 percent and African Americans showing a drop from 13.5 to 10.5 percent. Hispanics dropped from 8.5 to 8.3 percent while Asian Americans rose from 2.7 to 2.9 percent and Native Americans increased from 0.5 to 1.1 percent. (Becker & Kosicki, 1999).

But is a four-year college degree in journalism or another field a prerequisite for an on-air position? In a 1992 survey, Weaver and Wilhoit found that 82 percent of U.S. journalists possessed a college degree. Based on these and similar findings, Weaver (1999, p. 26) has recently concluded that "the four year bachelor's degree was becoming the minimum qualification for a full-time job as a journalist in mainstream general interest U.S. news media." Yet our data revealed that 37 percent of the 68 stations sampled currently had at least one male on-air reporter who did not possess a college degree.

Interestingly, the educational qualifications for the female on-air reporters were significantly more stringent with only 25 percent of the 68 stations having at least one female reporter without a college degree. The reasons underlying this gender disparity are not clear. It may be the case that women reporters are held to a higher educational standard than their male counterparts. However, it may also be the case that standards are indeed rising and that the on-air female reporters in our sample reflect more recent

hiring practices. If a four-year college degree is required, this may further eliminate talented minorities from the hiring pool.

Other factors may discourage talented applicants from entering broadcast journalism. The median salary is only $20,000 per year for reporters in markets ranked 101st to 150th, making television journalism one of the lowest paying options for college graduates (Papper & Gerhard, 1999c). Our respondents indicated a preference for hiring those applicants who have not only a college degree, but also one year or more of experience in even smaller markets -- ranked above 150th -- where the range of starting salaries drops to $12-17,000 per year (Stone, 1995). Applicants who are willing to endure the low pay in exchange for the opportunity to gain experience face other pressures. Increasing competition and budget constraints limit the resources available for quality reporting and contribute to a decrease in job satisfaction among broadcast journalists. Moreover, minorities who do enter the business have a higher "burnout" rate than non-minorities, again limiting the number of experienced journalists of color who remain in the pipeline long enough to be considered for the top on-air positions (Fitzgerald, 1997).

The combined disadvantages of low pay and low job satisfaction make it difficult to recruit entry-level minorities and women who may have other career options. If present trends continue, women are unlikely to represent more than one-third of future U.S. journalists (print and broadcast) and increased minority representation is likely "only if there are opportunities for advancement and increased responsibilities" (Weaver, 1999, p. 29).

A final analysis, however, revealed another factor that may underlie the relatively low prevalence of minority on-air talent at these entry-level stations. The news directors in our sample were asked how important they considered various factors to be in their hiring decisions. Of the five factors mentioned, the fact that a candidate represented the minority community came in fourth, being rated significantly less important than being a strong writer, having a good on-air appearance and having a strong work ethic. Only knowledge of the local market was considered less important. This suggests that the lack of ethnic diversity among television news talent is due, at least in part, to the relatively low priority placed on representing the minority community on the air.

One must also consider the present results in context. Our survey was conducted against the backdrop of an industry-wide debate over the possible elimination of the regulatory mandate for affirmative action in broadcasting. In April 1998, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit issued an opinion that the FCC's EEO rules, requiring broadcasters to "cast a wide net in their recruiting efforts," are unconstitutional.[4] Although the FCC has petitioned for reconsideration, the industry appears to face a new regulatory climate in which affirmative action is officially encouraged but purely voluntary on the part of the stations. Predictions of how this may alter the face of television news break down across racial lines. Papper and Gerhard found that "while almost all the white news directors we spoke with expected no change with the disappearance of FCC guidelines, every minority news director we spoke with felt just the opposite" (Papper & Gerhard, 1998).

One year after the elimination of the affirmative action guidelines, the 1999 RTNDA Ball State University study (Papper & Gerhard, 1999b, p.28) noted that "many of the country's largest media groups have pledged to continue past practices promoting diversity in the workplace." It is possible that voluntary affirmative action programs conducted by larger stations, broadcast groups or networks will allow some talented women and minorities to entirely bypass the entry-level markets ranked 100 or lower in size. For example, the NBC Associates program "identifies aspiring journalists who bring diverse backgrounds to news production and news coverage."[5] However, the associates are placed exclusively in network production and editorial jobs behind the scenes. Those wishing to appear on the air are advised to go to small markets and get experience.[6]

The innovative Minorities in Broadcasting Training Program (MIBTP) was founded in 1993 by Patrice Williams, a black, female college graduate who was unable to gain an on-air position after participating in one network's affirmative action placement program. During a three-year job search she was also turned away by gatekeepers in numerous small markets, including one Arizona news director who told her "they already had a black reporter and didn't need another one."[7] MIBTP provides training and placement for minority college graduates who have contacted at least 15 potential employers and are still jobless two years after graduation. The program has little trouble finding qualified applicants. But, despite backing from such industry leaders as Mike Wallace of "60 Minutes" and ABC's Diane Sawyer and Sam Donaldson, there is a

chronic shortage of entry-level stations willing to pay the minimum $6 per hour to minority trainees in on-air talent positions. Williams notes a growing number of "graduates who are losing hope (of) ever getting their foot in the door." [8] Thus, it is not the case that significant numbers of minority applicants for on-air positions are leapfrogging over the small markets into the major leagues as anchors and reporters.

FCC Chairman William E. Kennard has stated, "We all benefit when broadcasting, our nation's most influential medium, reflects the rich cultural diversity of our country."[9] But our findings clearly show a continued lack of diversity among the gatekeepers at the entry level of television news and among the on-air talent they choose to hire. The result is a clogged pipeline at the entry level contributing to a shortage of qualified minorities for on-air roles at all levels of television news. According to our data, these gatekeepers continue to place a low priority on affirmative action. They also tend to underestimate the diversity needs of their own markets and, perhaps, overlook the important role they could play in promoting diversity among on-air talent in the industry as a whole by giving qualified women and people of color their first "break" in the business.

As Wilson and Gutierrez have noted, changing U.S. demographics dictate that newsrooms will have to become more diverse to provide coverage that is truly reflective of their audience, creating "increased opportunity for minorities to participate in the

information gatekeeping process" (1985, p.147). This presents a formidable challenge to industry leaders as they debate proposed new FCC guidelines for minority recruitment, training and retention at all levels of broadcast news.

Notes

1. United States Commission on Civil Rights. 1977. "Window Dressing on the Set: Women and Minorities in Television." Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing House.
2. Statement from Chairman William E. Kennard on the D.C. Circuit opinion on the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod v. FCC. April 14, 1998. Washington D.C. Federal Communications Commission news release.
3. RTNDA press release. June 15, 2000. "RTNDA Board Calls for More Minorities in News Management."
4. Statement from Chairman William E. Kennard on the D.C. Circuit opinion on the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod v. FCC. April 14, 1998. Washington D.C. Federal Communications Commission news release.
5. NBC Associates recruiting materials. USC/Annenberg School for Communication. Career Placement Office. Spring 2000.
6. Personal communication with NBC Associates Alex Castro and Anthony Galloway.
7. Quoted on MIBTP web site, http://www.thebroadcaster.com, June 12, 2000.
8. Ibid. and personal communication with Patrice Williams, June 1999.
9. Remarks of William E. Kennard to the Radio-Television News Directors Association Annual Convention, San Antonio, TX. September 25, 1998.

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Table 1. Demographic profile of news directors participating in study.

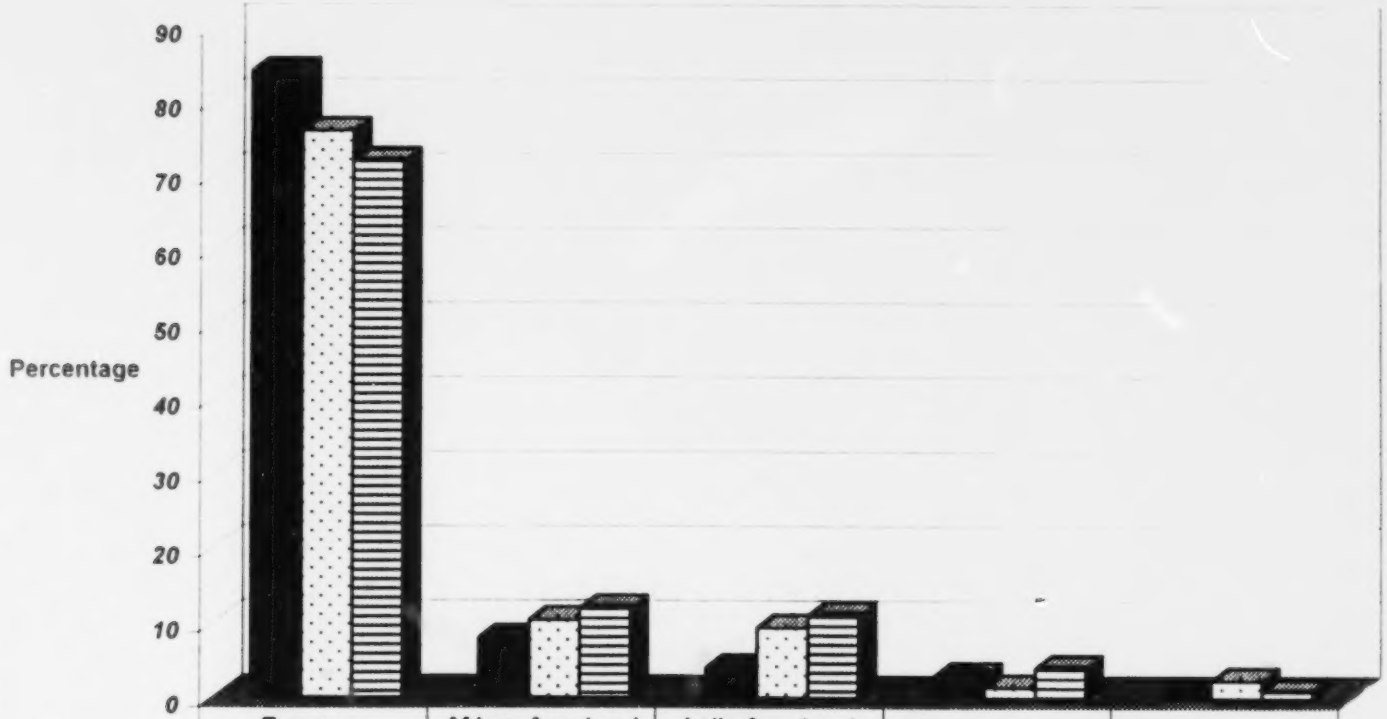
Mean Age:	39 years	
Gender:	Male	82.6%
	Female	17.4%
Ethnicity:	European American or White	97.8%
	Latin American or Hispanic	2.2%
	African American or Black	0%
	Native American	0%
Education:	High School	6%
	Bachelors Degree	75%
	Graduate Degree	19%

Table 2. Distribution of on-air talent by ethnicity.

	European American (White)	African American (Black)	Latin American (Hispanic)	Asian American	Native American	Total
Anchors	336 (85%)	30 (8%)	15 (4%)	12 (3%)	2 (<1%)	395
Reporters	250 (75%)	44 (13%)	15 (4%)	22 (7%)	2 (<1%)	333
Sports	139 (90%)	9 (6%)	5 (3%)	1 (<1%)	0	154
Weather	146 (94%)	4 (3%)	5 (3%)	1 (<1%)	0	156
Total On-air Talent	**871 (84%)**	**87 (8%)**	**40 (4%)**	**36 (3%)**	**4 (1%)**	**1038**

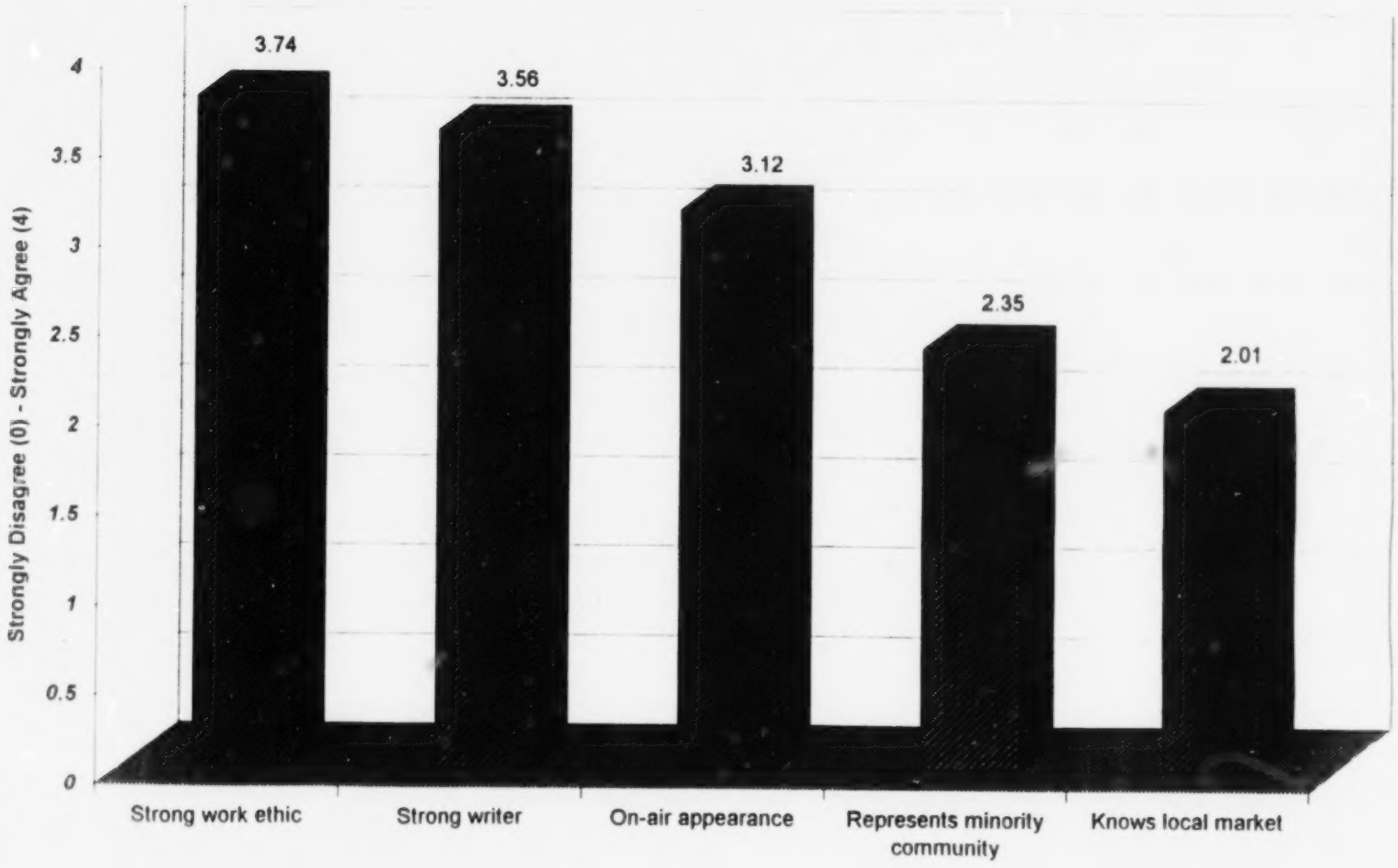
Note: Due to rounding error estimated percentages may not always sum to 100.

Figure 1: Comparisons of actual on-air talent, Gatekeepers' perceptions of market, and National Census data by ethnicity



	European American/ White	African American/ Black	Latin American/ Hispanic	Asian American	Native American
■ Percentage of on-air talent	84	8	4	3	1
□ Gatekeepers' perception of market	76	10.4	9.4	1.4	2.4
▤ National US Census estimates	72	12	11	4	1

Figure 2: Extent to which Gatekeepers agreed that various factors were important in their hiring decisions



Television Network Diversity Deals and Citizen Group Action in 21st Century Broadcasting Policy

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Television Network Diversity Deals and Citizen Group Action in 21st Century Broadcasting Policy

ABSTRACT

This paper provides an analysis of recent efforts by the NAACP and other ethnic groups to negotiate diversity agreements for employment and programming at the four major broadcast networks. The calls for diversity issued in 1999 are compared to the work of citizen action groups that influenced broadcasting policy in the 1960s and 1970s. With varying mechanisms for network accountability and monitoring of diversity, the agreements amounted mostly to a victory in the "court of public opinion."

Television Network Diversity Deals and Citizen Group Action in 21st Century Broadcasting Policy

"The Cosby Show did more for civil rights than any civil rights legislation. This is civil rights in the media age. When our images are segregated, it is our Rosa Parks moment at the back of the bus to stand up and fight"

Felix Sanchez
Pres. National Hispanic Foundation for the Arts

The fight for more images of people of color in primetime television included not only Sanchez and his organization, the National Hispanic Foundation for the Arts, but also a coalition of citizen groups led by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). With photo opportunities on the sets of television networks, hearings in Hollywood, and remarks like Sanchez's given during the recent meeting of the National Association of Television Programming Executives (NATPE), the coalition brought the issue of diversity in primetime television to the mainstream of media attention. Were these, as some have suggested, "millennium-style tactics" (Smith, 1999) for change or a sign that citizen group activism in the arena of broadcasting policy is back ? Three decades ago, citizen groups like the NAACP were taking part in congressional hearings and striking agreements with broadcast stations concerning programming and employment practices(Krasnow, Longley, & Terry, 1982), but such activities by citizen groups appeared to subside in recent years.

Given legal defeats suffered by civil rights organizations, in particular, in the 1990s when affirmative action programs were overturned, perhaps a return to the citizen activism tactics of the 1960s and 70s is the most prudent strategy for addressing a lack of racial diversity at the television networks, both on and off the screen. This paper provides an analysis of recent efforts by the NAACP and other ethnic groups to negotiate agreements for diversity in employment and programming with the four major broadcast networks- ABC, CBS, NBC and FOX- and the outcomes of those negotiations: . Furthermore, we

suggest the implications such agreements might have for the way citizens are involved in the policy-making process for the broadcasting industry.

Literature Review

Citizen group involvement in the policy process of the broadcasting industry took its first major step forward in 1966 when the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia issued its landmark decision, *Office of Communication of the United Church of Christ v. FCC*. Commonly known as the WLBT case, because of the Jackson, Mississippi station involved, the case gave standing to community organizations such as civic associations, professional societies, unions, churches and educational institutions in the license renewal process. The Office of Communication of the United Church of Christ challenged WLBT's license on behalf of black viewers, who claimed they were discriminated against even though they made up 45 percent of the city of Jackson. The appellate court overruled the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) and the station's license was eventually revoked(Longley, Terry, & Krasnow, 1983).

The WLBT case is credited with doing more than encourage minority groups to assert themselves in broadcast matters. Some say the case provided practical lessons on how pressure could be brought against the entire broadcast establishment (Wilson & Gutiérrez, 1995) . Subsequently, citizen groups began making agreements with local broadcasters concerning programming and employment practices. The FCC endorsed one such 13-point statement of policy by the management of KTAL in Texarkana, Texas, as a preferred means by which a station could fulfill its obligation to provide service to meet community needs. This trend of intense involvement by citizen groups in broadcast policy came to a screeching halt in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Some experts have suggested the appointment of some leaders of the citizen group movement to bodies such as the FCC and Federal Trade Commission (FTC) was one of the factors in this shift away from citizen

group action. The first black FCC commissioner, Benjamin Hooks, was appointed in the early 1970s. Hooks would eventually become the executive director of the NAACP. Another factor in the shift from citizen group activism was the drop in financial support for these citizen action groups in the 1980s (Witty, 1981) .

While some groups sought agreements with local stations, efforts were launched to bring about diversity on a national scale. In 1969, the Johnson Foundation, the Kellogg Foundation, and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting co-sponsored a conference of more than 40 African-Americans employed in public broadcasting across the country. From that meeting, the National Black Media Producers Association (NBMPA) was established to oversee the improvement of the status of African-Americans, not only in public broadcasting, but the media as a whole (Dates & Barlow, 1990).

Even though the NBMPA operated for just two years, many of the issues it raised were eventually taken up by other national media organizations, such as the National Black Media Coalition (NBMC), which began holding annual conferences on the status of blacks in the media in the mid-1970s. Since then, NBMC has been at the forefront of diversity efforts, negotiating affirmative action agreements with at least 80 media organizations. At the same time, Pluria Marshall, one of the founders of the group, is still a regular participant in hearings on diversity issues in the media on Capitol Hill. NBMC is credited with helping initiate the distress sale and tax certificate policies adopted by the FCC to increase the number of minority broadcast owners. The distress sale and tax certificate policies resulted in the sale of more than 50 broadcast properties to African-Americans in recent years (NBMC, 2000).

While the NBMPA and NBMC have focused primarily on the role of blacks in the media industry, the National Council of La Raza (NCLR) has historically been an advocate for Hispanic Americans. NCLR's history goes back to 1968 as the largest constituency-based national Hispanic organization. In recent years, monitoring images of Hispanics in the media has been a focus for NCLR. In 1994, the group published its report, *Out of the*

Picture: Hispanics in the Media.. Two years later, that study was updated as *Don't Blink: Hispanics in Television Entertainment*.. Both studies called attention to the dearth of positive portrayals of Hispanics in the broadcast media.

Even though each of the above organizations-- NBMPA, NBMC, and NCLR-- has historically taken up advocacy role with government agencies and those in the media industry, no organization has had the long-established, significant role of pushing for more diversity in media in the policy arena as the NAACP.

Six years after its founding the NAACP launched a nationwide protest against the showing of "Birth of a Nation" in 1915. The film depicted Blacks as savages and misconstrued the Reconstruction era. After this protest, the NAACP continued monitoring motion pictures, and in 1942, former NAACP Executive Secretary Walter White struck an agreement with major film studio heads which included the establishment of an ad hoc committee of Black actors and private citizens to monitor the image and portrayal of Black people on the screen. Later, at the NAACP's annual convention in 1951, the civil rights group passed a resolution critical of the new television series, "Amos 'N' Andy." The organization eventually sought an injunction in federal court to prevent the CBS Television Network from televising "Amos N' Andy." After five years of litigation, CBS agreed to withdraw the show in 1966 (Mfume, 1999b). Fighting discrimination in the motion picture and broadcasting industries was the main goal of the Beverly Hills-Hollywood branch of the NAACP, which was chartered in 1962 (Anderson, 2000).

Both in the past and present, the NAACP's role in the fight against discrimination on the airwaves could be the focus of a single study on citizen group activism. However, the concern here is not only the efforts of the NAACP, but the entire coalition of ethnic interest groups that confronted the television networks. To position this present research in the body of literature on advocacy and citizen groups, we turned to the political scientists and policy experts for explanation of events that precede a threatened boycott by a coalition

of organizations pushing for systemic policy changes. In this paper, policies of organizations, rather than formal government policies, are the focus.

The Advocacy Coalition Framework has been used by policy scholars as a conceptual framework for studying various aspects of policy change. However, one of its basic premises is an understanding that the process of policy change requires a time perspective of a decade or more (Sabatier, 1988). Earlier studies have shown for some policy programs, initial successes may evaporate over time (p. 134). The time that elapsed between the beginning of this latest effort by the NAACP and other ethnic groups was less than a year. Additionally, no government intervention was a factor in these recent negotiations. Therefore, a more appropriate literature might examine economic boycotts, which often begin and end in shorter spans of time.

Even though they are chiefly economic, boycotts historically evolved from the political science where scholars have placed them in the context of nonviolent direct action (NVDA). One of the major uses of boycotts has been in the civil rights movement (Gelb, 1995) According to National Boycott News, which began tracking boycotts in 1985, the number rose during the 1990s, dubbed "the decade of the boycott (Putnam, 1993). One of the most visible and successful boycott victories in 1990 was a two-year effort by the San Francisco-based group Earth Island Institute against H.J. Heinz, which makes Star Kist brand tuna fish. As a result of the boycott, Heinz agreed to stop buying tuna from fishing boats using techniques that killed dolphins as they caught tuna. In his "Anatomy of a Boycott Victory," Putnam identified 16 reasons why the Heinz boycott resulted in a victory. Among them were public familiarity with the issue, public sympathy with the cause, and grass-roots information about the boycott (p. 51).

Research Questions

Given what is known about advocacy coalitions and boycotts and how citizen groups were successful in applying pressure for change in broadcast images of the past, the following research questions were posed for this project:

R1. How do the NAACP's stated proposed policy changes for the television networks compare to the outcome of their negotiations in the form of the agreements that were signed ?

R2. Do the events leading up to the agreements fit the pattern for citizen group influence as identified in earlier research on the policy-making process?

R3. Is the specific role of the NAACP consistent with what policy scholars have found in previous research on advocacy coalitions and economic boycotts?

Method

This paper marries several methodologies for reaching answers to the above research questions. Chief among those is a basic comparison of policy inputs (proposals), policy pressure tactics (negotiations), and policy outputs (agreements). The primary source for information on policy inputs were NAACP speeches and statements as provided by the organization on its worldwide web site on the Internet. Various media reports of these inputs, and editorial critiques of such, were also examined in an effort to further augment a true picture of what was proposed. Media reports on the negotiations were the primary source of information on the second stage of this process, the negotiations. Finally, the actual agreements as published on the civil rights organization's worldwide web site were the documents analyzed for policy outputs. Particular attention was also paid to the statements of the television executives after the agreements were reached. This study may be discussed in three major stages of the policy process: policy inputs, policy pressure tactics, and policy outputs.

Policy Inputs

The NAACP fired the first shots in this battle over diversity, only to be followed by other organizations days later. We can identify what exactly the NAACP called for in its initial pronouncement at its annual convention in July 1999 as the policy inputs or proposals in this policy change process. Using the term "whitewash" to describe the lack of minorities in lead roles in the 26 new primetime network shows for fall 1999, Kweisi Mfume, NAACP President and CEO, called for the following in the NAACP's "Television and Film Diversity Campaign":

- More jobs for minority actors and actresses
- More minorities in jobs in the production areas
- Establishment of ad-hoc or advisory committee of minorities in the industry

Mfume's comments were quickly picked up by the nation's newspapers as the highlight of the group's 90th convention. He told the delegates meeting in New York City:

> When the television-viewing public sits down to watch the new primetime shows scheduled for this fall's line-up, they will see a virtual whitewash in programming. This whitewash exists because none of the 26 new shows slated for the fall season have a minority in a leading or starring role. This glaring omission is an outrage and a shameful display by network executives who are either clueless, careless or both... We think that our presence should be appropriately reflected during primetime and on all levels, in front of the camera as well as behind the scenes (Mfume, 1999a).

Less than a month after the NAACP's convention, the Rainbow/PUSH Coalition (RPC) at its 28th Annual Conference, endorsed the NAACP effort. RPC head Rev. Jesse Jackson used language similar to Mfume in describing the problem. He called the situation at the nation's television network "cultural apartheid," which he attributed to television executives being "culturally blind" or "sheer stupid." Jackson said:

> In this type of medium, there are five different types of stereotypes that emerge. Black and brown people are projected as less important than we are, less

> hardworking than we are, less universal than we are, less patriotic and more violent...We challenge the networks because there is simply a need for them to display our contributions in the building of America. This is the fair thing to do because we have the actors, the actresses, and the viewers. The talent is there. All that is missing is the opportunity. We challenge the industry to be more American and to include all so that no Americans can be left behind ("Rainbow Push," 1999).

In the case of the NAACP and the Rainbow/PUSH Coalition, the national conventions of these organizations became the platform for launching this push to change policy at the television networks. As high-profile leaders, Mfume and Jackson articulated the proposed policy changes and left it up to the network television executives to respond. Their actions amplified the inputs in the policy process examined here.

Policy Negotiations, Pressure Tactics

At the outset of the policy process, Krasnow, who has researched citizen action groups in the past, and now works for a Washington, DC law firm, suggested that the entire NAACP campaign was "more of a gesture to get attention than a legal challenge."(McClellan, 1999).

As author of numerous articles utilizing legal analysis to examine past efforts to achieve minority ownership and employment in broadcasting, Honig stated three basic legal tactics the NAACP could have used: 1) As major licensees, broadcast networks, have a special obligation to ensure diversity of programming; 2) With the proper economic evidence to show because of the network distribution, the broadcasting marketplace is inherently incapable of addressing minority needs without some type of intervention and 3) A petition for denial of license renewal when for network-owned stations (p. 17).

Based on a review of media reports of the NAACP's campaign, we suggest the following tactics or threats were used by the NAACP to elicit a response from the television networks:

- Lawsuits aimed at both networks charging a violation of the public interest requirement of the Communications Act of 1934

- Lawsuits aimed at advertisers
- FCC hearings on the lack of diversity
- Congressional hearings on the lack of diversity
- Viewer boycotts aimed at both networks
- Economic boycotts aimed network advertisers
- Oversight by a special NAACP-run bureau or watchdog in Hollywood

Two months after the NAACP's initial call for the networks to change, African-American, Latino, Asian-American and Native American civil rights and media organizations held a news conference at the New York Press Club to announce the formation of a 19-member coalition. Among the organizations in the coalitions were the National Council of La Raza, Minority Media Telecommunications Council and 18 Asian-American organizations ("NAACP Latino," 1999). One of those Asian-American organizations, Media Action Network for Asian-Americans (MANAA), held another news conference four days later. There, it released a petition signed by 800 individuals and organizations to be sent to the broadcast networks (MANAA, 2000). The petition along with a call for action were published on the group's website along with a strongly worded statement. MANAA officials saw the petition drive as an opportunity to educate its own constituency. Its statement read:

> What is more important, therefore, is the beginning of a long-term grassroots campaign to educate the community on how to be smarter and more responsible viewers: If we do not see ourselves on television and in positive ways, we will not watch those shows. We will therefore not see those commercials and not buy those products. It's time both Hollywood and the advertising community wake up to the concept that if we are not included in their programming, we will not include them in our lives.

At practically the same time as the coalition and MANAA news conferences, a national Latino coalition held a so-called "television brownout" or a boycott to protest the lack of Latinos on television. The coalition offered a list of videos for people to watch as

an alternative to watching television during the week of September 12-18,1999 (Flores, 1999). Word a similar "blackout" sponsored by the NAACP against a specific network reached the press a week after the brownout (Liou, 1999). However, no concrete plans for such a boycott were ever announced.

Instead, two months later, more than 100 demonstrators turned out in front of NBC'S Burbank studios to protest the lack of blacks on primetime television. The protest was sponsored by another set of community groups and headed by Danny Bakewell of the Brotherhood Crusade. The same California-based coalition had come together only months earlier to force the cancellation of the television sitcom, "The Secret Diary of Desmond Pfeiffer." The comedy about a black butler to President Abraham Lincoln during the Civil War was criticized because of its stereotypical images of blacks. According to officials at UPN, the show was canceled due to poor ratings. The Bakewell-led demonstrators in November 1999 called for Americans to "TURN OFF NBC." The boycott was timed to occur during November sweeps, a key period for networks and local affiliates to determine the audience for the purpose of setting advertising rates (Stafford, 1999).

In sponsoring a public hearing on November 29, 1999 in Los Angeles, the initial New York-based coalition invited the heads of the four major networks, but one, Leslie Moonves of CBS, showed up. The three other networks sent designated representatives, who left in protest when they were not allowed to participate on a panel with Moonves at the very beginning of the hearing. Mfume defended his decision to not include them on the same panel. He later told the NATPE audience: "We invited the heads of the networks or their designated representatives. It was clear to me that they were not prepared and could not answer the questions that had to be answered at a higher level, did not have the power to make any kind of real change whatsoever. It's a matter of not taking seriously what was going on." (Mfume, 2000).

As the chief spokesman for the negotiations of the multi-ethnic coalition, Mfume continued to apply pressure by speaking to bodies such as NATPE even after only two of

the four networks had inked agreements with the coalition. Mfume said: "52 years this medium has been around. And I refuse to believe that in 52 years, there are not qualified people who can interpret the American experience either through comedy or drama or something else and write to it." Even in his talk to television programmers, Mfume noted how the campaign by the NAACP and other ethnic groups was initially not taken seriously.

> "People have raised this issue over and over again. And, they've been like the circus, here today and then gone for another year or two and then the issue pops up. So if you're a network executive, you've got to say, given the history of this, they're going to go away, that it's nothing for me to deal with. They were all kind and courteous. They all accepted me in their offices last August [1999]. But, I didn't come out of that believing that anybody got the sense that this was not the circus, that this was not going to go away. While we didn't have the ability to win in any kind of anti-trust way in the courts of this country, that we could a wage a battle in the court of opinion."

At the NATPE Conference, word came of a third agreement between the coalition and Fox. A CBS announcement quickly followed. Ironically, the first network to respond by sending its top man to the coalition-sponsored public hearings was the last one to reach a diversity agreement.

Policy Outputs: the Agreements

Once the agreements were reached, both the NAACP and the network executives took advantage of the opportunity to cast its side of the story in the continuing battle in the "court of public opinion." Mfume said the agreements "represent real and meaningful change" ("CBS, Fox", 2000). Each executive put its own spin on the agreement reached with the NAACP and members of the coalition of ethnic groups. Fox Entertainment President David Herzog said:

> If you are really serious about accomplishing something, as we are, then you've got to make sure that someone is directly accountable. This coming May when

> everybody puts their pilots up, people are going to be counting [the number of minority cast members]. It's going to turn into that. so I think it's important that we keep everybody focused on diversifying the casts to the extent that it makes sense. That's first up and probably the easy part. The hard part is getting into the system and changing the system (p. 6E).

NBC executives prided themselves among the first to ink a deal with the coalition of minority organizations. In a television interview following the deal, NBC Entertainment President Garth Ancier described the problem that prompted the agreement:.

> I think on the writing, the writing-directing side, I think it's such an industry-wide problem that I don't think we were singled out. I think we have the problem, everyone else has the problem and we just decided to be a bit more aggressive about how to deal with it.. I think the most important thing we're doing is beefing up sort of the unseen part of the spectrum here, the part between the executive ranks and the people on camera, the creative people, the writers on shows (Cochran, 2000).

While they take on variations of the same theme, the four network agreements do include some distinct differences. Some were more aggressive about how to go about accomplishing diversity goals, while others were vague. Table 1 compares the four diversity agreements based on four major areas: education and training, recruitment, procurement, and management and operations.

Education & Training

Clearly bringing about diversity both in front of and behind the camera will require efforts to shore up the pool of qualified job candidates. Each of the four agreements include some component of education and training with ABC investing in the job universities and acting schools do. The other three networks have each made a commitments to some type of internal training program. While NBC will expand its existing Associates Program, FOX And CBS have plans to establish new programs. The NBC Associates Program is an established training program for various positions in areas of the network operation.

Recruitment

The first area of education and training feeds directly into the next area: recruitment. At times, it was difficult to separate the various parts of the agreements since the two areas often overlap. All four networks have made pledges to enhance minority recruitment efforts in general. As with education area, ABC plans to use grants to discover new writing talent. FOX is the only network to make specific reference to "retention" in addition to recruitment.

Procurement

Doing business with more minority media was a pledge across-the-board. Also, each of the networks plans to increase the amount of money spent on products and services from minority-owned firms. When it comes to using minority advertising companies, CBS admitted that it had to first establish a business relationship with such minority companies..

Management and Operations

This category was used not only as a catch-all for those pledges that did not seem to fit in the previous three areas, but also for those changes in "the way networks operate" that will result from the diversity agreements. Chief among these operational changes is a pledge by three of four networks to tie all of these diversity efforts to executive compensation. FOX added that in area of recruitment, executives will be evaluated on how well they do in bringing in a diverse group of employees. While NBC did not specifically mention tying diversity to executive compensation, it was the only network to pledge to end the practice of racially identifying writing samples for television series. This could be simply because the practice has not been done at the other networks.

In addition to analyzing the actual agreements, a comparison should be conducted at the end of the 1999-2000 television season to identify changes in the data supplied by the individual networks following the NAACP's initial calls for diversity (as listed in this paper

under policy input). With a general comparison of the four agreements in the four aforementioned areas, we shall return to our three original research questions.

R1. How do the NAACP's stated proposed policy changes for the television networks compare to the outcome of their negotiations in the form of the agreements that were signed ?

In terms of policy changes, there were two major areas specifically mentioned in the NAACP Call for Diversity issued in July: 1)More jobs for minority actors and actresses and 2)More minorities in jobs in the production areas. As Table 2 shows, only two of the four networks made a specific reference to any action aimed at bringing more jobs for minority actors and actresses. Both NBC and FOX failed to mention on-camera roles specifically. On the other hand, all four agreements made specific references to adding more minorities in production areas.

R2. Do the events leading up to the agreements fit the pattern for citizen group influence as identified in earlier research on the policy-making process?

Besides the similarity between the six or seven-point diversity agreements reached in 2000 and the agreements citizen groups made with local stations in the 1960s and 1970s, there are some other similarities that preceded the striking of agreements.

Krasnow, Longley and Terry (1982) said many of the citizen groups of the 1960s and 1970s, instead of serving the public interest, seemed to espouse the cause of a single interest. This tended to be true in the formation of the recent coalition. The NAACP made more of a reference to the treatment of African-Americans on the "big screen" since African-Americans have historically been its core supporters. At the same time, the Media Action Network for Asian-Americans references problems with Asian American images on the screen in its statement (MANAA, 2000). Further evidence of this single interest tendency was the "brownout" by Latino groups within the coalition. The overall diversity issue, in the process, was secondary for the period of the brownout when Latino videos instead of videos depicting all minority groups, were offered as alternatives.

On the other hand, the earlier work of citizen groups and the recent coalition were dissimilar in that there were no government actions involved. There were threats for such action, but things never got to that point before agreements were reached. Legal action, in fact, led to the earlier citizen group activism period. No legal action was involved in reaching the recent network diversity agreements. Issuing threats and "talking up your cause" or so-called "jaw-boning" is part of keeping the issue in the "court of public opinion." The NAACP and the ethnic interests gained pledges for internal policy changes at the four major networks through the use of tactics such as jaw-boning in the court of public opinion.

R3. Is the specific role of the NAACP consistent with what policy scholars have found in previous research on advocacy coalitions and economic boycotts?

While it is difficult to answer the initial question about advocacy coalitions since the literature on advocacy groups requires a much longer period to elapse before making such a judgment, the NAACP's role is consistent with the literature on economic boycotts. In fact, at least three of Putnam's (1993) 16 items in the "Anatomy of a Boycott" were clearly visible in the events that preceded the network diversity agreements.

Putnam placed public familiarity with the issue at the top of his list. Front page stories and network television interviews helped bring the issue of the lack of diversity in primetime programming to the forefront.

Public sympathy with the cause was Putnam's second item in the "Anatomy of a Boycott." Playing on that public sympathy was a clearly a tool to keep the issue in the public's eye. Events like the November protest at NBC's Burbank studios by the Brotherhood Crusade (Stafford, 1999) were designed to keep the issue before the public eye. The demonstration during the November sweeps were also aimed at drawing viewers away from the peacock network during a critical period for its advertisers.

A third way in which the NAACP's action in the recent diversity negotiations was consistent with research on boycotts was the way in which the organization held dialogue

with the companies, or broadcast networks. Face-to-face meetings were followed by public hearings held by the NAACP, which were followed by more meetings and negotiations. Those meetings and negotiators finally resulted in four network agreements for diversity.

Discussions and Implications

While all four diversity agreements did not include specific references to increasing on-camera roles, all four networks did agree to some form of minority recruitment (see Table 1). In cases where no specific references were made to on-camera roles, accountability for the broader recruitment pledges becomes an issue. With the exception of NBC, the networks all mention specific methods for monitoring the progress of these diversity efforts. On the other hand, it was widely reported that NBC assigned one of its managers at its New York owned-and-operated station, WNBC, the title of vice president of diversity (Williams, 2000). CBS reportedly plans to establish a similar position (Alexander, 2000). This would provide some person to hold the network accountable. To NBC's credit, it was one of two networks which had specific timelines mentioned in its agreement (See Table 2). NBC agreed to make many of the promised changes by the 2000-01 television season. The deadlines (i.e. by June 30), are another way to hold the network accountable for its proposed changed. Additionally, having a way to measure progress on these issues of diversity is important. Both NBC and FOX specifically address the need for a specific measurement by offering some numerical benchmarks for diversity goals (i.e. 10 percent minority procurement or 25 positions). While the ABC agreement ties management bonuses to diversity, it does not provide either timelines or outcome measures.

Clearly, it is the outcome of these agreements that will be the true test of the entire effort toward policy change on diversity at the four major television networks. The four agreements signify only pledges for change. The analysis provides some understanding at

a deeper level of what exactly each of the networks has pledged to do. By analyzing the agreements in the four areas of education and training, recruitment, procurement, and management and operations (See Table 1), we were able to see a fairly consistent effort to make an attempt toward diversity at multiple levels. On the other hand, when the same agreements were compared to the original calls of the NAACP and for their element of monitoring and accountability (Table 2), some weaknesses were found. This is perhaps a product of the way in which the agreements were reached. When such changes are placed in some type of binding document, more attention is paid to how mandated changes will be monitored and measured. The non-binding agreements were, for the most part, public relations pledges.

In that light, it is difficult to tie this entire effort completely back to the citizen activism of the 1960s and 1970s. While there was some media coverage of those efforts following the WLBT case, the media coverage was not the impetus for the negotiations with the local stations. Instead, it was the legal standing which prompted all the citizen groups to react. Today, citizen groups still have legal standing, but the policy-making is drastically different. Equal Employment Opportunity policies for the FCC that once were part of the discussions on diversity in broadcasting are no longer in effect as court rulings struck down federal programs that used specific racial categories. Likewise, the FCC's distress sale policies and tax certificate programs, both aimed at increasing minority ownership, have been eliminated. For that reason, some have suggested that minority advocacy before the FCC must use so-called marketplace rhetoric (Wimmer, 1989). Such rhetoric is based on the assumption that intervention in the broadcast marketplace is justified only if market failure has occurred. In other words, if there's been a loss of money or market position, then market failure justifies intervention in the interest of public interest.

Limitations and Future Research

As mentioned early, the analysis in this paper is incomplete without an actual pre- and post-agreement comparison of the data provided by the network on their network diversity efforts. Because the networks operate on a nine-month television season cycle, it would be logical to make such a comparison at the end of a cycle. However, because of logistics involved in implementing many of the changes in the agreements, one would not be able to measure any effects of the agreements until the conclusion of the 2000-01 television season. Future research might compare the pre-agreement data with data obtained at the conclusion of the 2000-01 television season. Another potentially intervening factor is the question of ratings. For an instance, if a program which includes minority actors and actresses simply does not achieve ratings high enough to remain on the air, its cancellation might adversely affect efforts to achieve racial diversity among those in front of and behind the camera. The effect of the cancellation of primetime network programs with prominent minority actors or themes such as *The Cosby Show*, *A Different World* or *Livin' Single*, would be the topic of another study.

Conclusion

In this paper, we've taken a closer look at the four diversity agreements offered in early 2000 by the four major broadcast networks (NBC, CBS, ABC and FOX). The analysis shows while they essentially answer the calls for diversity issued by the NAACP and other ethnic groups, the agreements have varying mechanisms for accountability and monitoring. At the surface, the way in which these agreements were reached was reminiscent of the way citizen action groups operated of the 1960s and 1970s. But, it must be remembered that these groups pushed for an end to discrimination primarily in local television. In addition, we cannot say the pendulum has swung back to that policy era. The deregulatory environment of the late 1990s made government intervention in the latest

talks with the television networks less likely and that very government intervention via the WLBT case prompted the citizen action of the 1960s and 1970s in the first place.

The actions of the NAACP and the other ethnic interest groups in its coalition were consistent with much of the literature on boycotts, but the time that elapsed between the initial calls for change and the actual agreements was far too short to apply any type of advocacy framework analysis. The organizations in these latest diversity agreements were successful in winning victory in the "court of public opinion," as Mfume has noted. Even though Mfume left open the future possibility of revisiting the binding financial interest and syndication (FIN/SYN) rules[1],that were eliminated in the 1990s, it remains to be seen whether the issue of diversity at the broadcast networks(Wimmer, 1989) will end up in a court of law or in the halls of Congress. At that time, the type of policy analysis conducted here, if repeated, might yield very different results.

[1]The financial interest and syndication rules adopted in 1970 forbade a network to syndicate programs produced by the network for rebroadcast by independent television stations. The FCC hoped the rules would strengthen an alternative source of supply of programming for independent stations. The rules were eliminated in 1995.

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Table 1- Comparison of Diversity Agreements by Network

	ABC	NBC	FOX	CBS
Education & Training	•Grants for people of color in univs. and acting schools	•Expand program to include 25 yearlong training assignments in news, sports, entertainment, and station divisions	•Underwrite a minority writer's program with goal of minority writer on EVERY FOX network production •Minority internship program at various divisions	•Implement by June 30 new programs to train and hire more qualified minority show runners
Recruitment	•Require casting executives to meet, audition, consider more diverse actors •Grants to discover and support new writing talent	•Seek out and hire people of color as directors in 2000-01 television season •Encourage producers to hire minority writers •Expand pool*	•Expanded minority recruitment and retention program •Greater emphasis on minority recruitment in evaluating executive performance	•Expanded minority recruitment program beginning June 30 •Implement by June 30 outreach programs to identify new talent
Procurement	•Expand purchase of commercial time for programming minority media	•Increase amount of products/svcs. from minority businesses 100% •Increase purchases in minority owned media	•Set a minimum goal of 10%minority procurement on goods and services •Increase use of minority-owned media	•Establish relationships with minority-owned ad companies •Seek minority owned firms for professional svcs.
Management & Ops.	•Divisions must have outreach plan with at least one minority professional association •Diversity tied to management bonuses	•NBC does not racially identify writing samples for television series •Fund additional wrting position one every 2nd yr show to achieve diversity	•Tying executive compensation back to compensation directors •Increase number of production and development deals with minorities	•Studios which CBS does business must integrate writing staffs for the 2000-01 season •Executive pay tied directly to efforts to diversify workforce

**In its agreement, NBC listed four different ways it would expand its pool of minority applicants*

Table 2- **Comparison of Diversity Agreements to Calls by NAACP and Monitoring/Accountability**

More minorities in the production areas

x ABC x NBC x FOX x CBS

More minorities in on-camera roles

x ABC _ NBC _ FOX x CBS

Agreements include specific timelines

_ ABC x NBC _ FOX x CBS

Agreements include monitoring mechanisms for accountability

x ABC _ NBC x FOX x CBS

Agreements includes outcome measures

_ ABC x NBC x FOX _ CBS

Running Head: BUILDING IDENTIFICATION WITH HISPANIC VOTERS VIA THE WEB

A Case Study of the Bush and Gore Web Sites "En Español": Building Identification with Hispanic Voters During the 2000 New Hampshire Primary and Iowa Caucuses

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Abstract

This is the one of the first studies to examine presidential campaign messages targeting Hispanic voters during the Iowa caucuses and New Hampshire primary. A case study, employing textual analysis guided by using Kenneth Burke's concept of identification, is used to determine how Bush and Gore identified with Hispanic voters through (1) common experiences/association, (2) antithesis, and (3) subtlety or cunning. Results reveal that Bush invested more in his "En Español" Web site. Bush also differentiated more among the distinct Hispanic populations, while Gore presented his messages treating his supporters as a panethnic audience. Gore used more subtle visual persuasive cues. Overall, only 4 of the 30 messages offered by the candidates to Hispanic voters focused specifically on the primary campaign. This implies the candidates may perceive the Hispanic vote as having a larger influence on the general election.

A Case Study of the Bush and Gore Web Sites "En Español":

Building Identification with Hispanic Voters

During the 2000 New Hampshire Primary and Iowa Caucuses

Few studies focus on news coverage of politicians' media efforts to influence the Hispanic vote during presidential elections (Turner & Allen, 1997).[1] Also, there is little research that concentrates on the political campaign coverage provided in Spanish-language media or political campaign strategies used to influence Hispanic voters (Subervi-Vélez, Herrera, & Begay, 1987; Subervi-Vélez, 1988). There have been no studies that examine the efforts of candidates to influence Hispanic voters during the presidential primary campaign or caucuses. This study is an effort to fill a gap in the literature by presenting a case study analyzing the messages that the Bush and Gore campaigns provided in Spanish on their Web sites to identify with the interests of the U.S. Hispanic population. This analysis centers on the time period surrounding the January 24, 2000, Iowa caucuses and the February 1, 2000, New Hampshire primary.

It is important to examine how the Bush and Gore campaigns target Hispanic voters, because Hispanic voters by their sheer numbers have the capability to effect the outcome of the presidential primaries and the general election. The Public Opinion Strategies report (Lambro, 1999) indicates that by 2010 Hispanics will comprise 20% of the U.S. population and will be the largest U.S. minority group. According to the U.S. Department of Commerce (1999), the states with the fastest growth of Hispanics in 1998 were California, Texas, Florida, New York and Arizona. Fitzgerald (1999) points out that Hispanics are concentrated in 16 states that together hold 29 more votes than the 270 electoral votes needed to elect the U.S. president.

Turner and Allen (1997) provide a 1996 election example showing how the Latino vote can effect general election outcomes. Dole was hurt because he was able to garner only 21% of the Latino vote nationwide in 1996. In contrast, Clinton received 72% of the Hispanic vote (Booth, 2000). A Battleground Poll (Cohen, 2000) conducted during the primary season indicates that Latinos likely to vote prefer Bush to Gore 51-38%.

Presidential primary statistics show that Hispanic participation is quite low, and emphasis has been placed on increasing voter participation.[2] However, because of the Hispanic population's potential impact on election outcomes, candidates can no longer ignore this growing segment of the population—especially when 40% (Booth, 2000) do not identify with either the Republican or Democratic Party. Candidates able to mobilize the Hispanic vote in the primaries may have a distinct advantage as turnout is generally low overall.[3]

Because a burgeoning percentage of the population relies on the World Wide Web for information, it is important to examine how candidates communicate to their publics via the Web. A 1996 survey conducted by the Princeton Survey Research Associates of over 1,500 respondents ("Talking politics," 1996) shows that only 2% used online sources to gain "most" of their political information. When asked whether they went online to get information on the 1996 presidential campaign, however, 10% of all Americans and 18% of computer users reported doing so. A March 1999 study by Forrester Research indicates that 36% of Hispanic households are online, while another study by the Tómas Rivera Policy Institute indicates the figure for Latinos is really closer to 15% (Romney, 1999). Jupiter Communications (2000, May 24) asserts

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[1] The terms "Hispanic" and "Latino" will be used interchangeably throughout the paper to eliminate monotony.
[2] In 1996 turnout for Hispanics in presidential primaries was 3 percent according to Stanley & Niemi, 1992, p. 100.
[3] In 1988, an average of 21.7% of Republicans and 33.8% of Democrats participated in their parties' presidential primary (Davis, 1997; p. 175).

that the Internet's penetration will exceed 50% of the U.S. population in 2000.

Even though the Web is a relatively new medium in political communication, it is important to study its messages because the messages may be less scrutinized by the general public. The U.S. media have traditionally monitored English-language political messages presented to the mainstream population by way of the candidates' advertising messages or political debates. The candidates' Web sites, much like advertising messages and political speeches, serve a public relations function by presenting information to the public from the candidates' perspectives. This means the messages presented are completely controlled by the presidential primary/caucus campaign staff or candidate. As many messages presented to the Hispanic voter are provided in Spanish, the mainstream press's ability to critically analyze the messages may be limited particularly outside the Spanish-language media. Therefore, studying these messages could also serve as a check on the veracity of the information presented to voters.

Kenneth Burke's concept of identification is used in this study to explore the ways in which political candidates present messages on the Web in Spanish to Hispanic voters. First, the study examines the literature on political campaigns that target Hispanic voters and related literature. Following this is a discussion of the rhetorical theory regarding Kenneth Burke's concept of identification and the method used here. Thirdly, an analysis of the candidate's messages and use of identification is presented. As George W. Bush's Web site contained more targeted information, it will receive more attention. Lastly, there will be a discussion of the implications and suggestions for further investigation.

Literature Review

Research is scarce on the use of media and political campaigns targeting Hispanic

voters—especially those that concentrate on presidential primaries and caucuses. The case study by Subervi-Vélez, Herrera, and Begay (1987) of the 1984 presidential campaign is probably the most relevant to this study. It is one of the first studies to examine political campaign use of the broadcast media to appeal to Hispanic voters. Findings indicate that Republicans spent $6 million targeting Hispanic voters while Democrats only spent $120,000. Democrats tended to concentrate their efforts on Spanish-language radio, while the Reagan-Bush campaign spent the bulk of its resources on network television English-language ads. Interviews with the candidate's advertising agency revealed that English-speaking or bilingual Hispanics were more likely to vote. Although this study focuses on the general election, it is one of the few to examine campaign strategies and provides context for this study.

Research on Latinos and media use by Ríos and Gaines (1998) shows that although Latinos are often treated as a homogenous group, Latinos differ in their attitudes towards using Spanish, knowledge of bilingual education issues, and in their ability to speak and understand Spanish. Subervi-Vélez (1986) suggests that use of Spanish-language, English-language or a combination of the media types is related to a person's degree of assimilation or cultural pluralism (differentiation). He also notes that studies show that recent immigrants are more likely to attend to Spanish-language media than those who have resided in the United States for longer periods of time. This is interesting as a recent report from the U.S. Census Bureau (Casper & Bass,1998) indicates that 53% of newly naturalized Hispanics voted in the 1996 November election, whereas only 42% of native-born Hispanics voted.

Other studies of political communication and Latinos focus more on the content of Spanish-language media and endorsements of candidates (Subervi-Vélez, 1988) or a comparison

between newspaper coverage of presidential campaigns in the Spanish-language and English-language press (Turner and Allen, 1997).

Research Questions

Based on the previous research by Subervi-Vélez, et. al. (1987), this study seeks to examine the messages used by presidential campaign candidates on their Web sites to attract and identify with Hispanic voters during the Iowa caucuses and New Hampshire primary. Using Burke's concept of identification, this study seeks to address the following research questions:

RQ1: How do the candidates employ Burke's three forms of identification in addressing Hispanic publics?

RQ2: Do candidates specifically address Hispanic voters?

The first question relates directly to the theory-driven approach of this study. It examines the rhetorical approaches the candidates take in persuading their audience. The second research question pertains to whether the candidates are attempting to reach Latinos during the New Hampshire primary or Iowa caucus season.

Theory

According to Hochmuth (1952), Kenneth Burke views rhetoric as a means of persuasion as well as a way to analyze persuasion. Instead of the term persuasion, however, Burke prefers to use the term *identification* to describe how persuasion is employed. In this study, analysis using Burke's concept of *identification* is applied in textual analysis of the candidates' messages to Hispanic voters.

In *A Rhetoric of Motives* (p. 20), Burke describes this in a similar fashion, "A is not identical with his colleague, B. But insofar as their interests are joined, A is *identified* with B.

Or he [A] may *identify himself* with B even when their interests are not joined, if he assumes that they are, or is persuaded to believe so." In *Dramatism and Development* (1972, p. 28), Burke distinguishes three types of identification. In its simplest form, according to Burke, "It [identification] flowers with the usages as that of a politician who, though rich, tells humble constituents of his humble origins." The simplest form of identification, then, is to identify common life experiences and perhaps simple future goals with the audience.

A second type of identification can be created by demonstrating that two people or groups confront the same nemesis or a common problem and thus must develop a coalition. Burke (1972, p. 28) writes, "The second kind of identification involves the workings of antithesis, as when allies who would otherwise dispute among themselves join forces against a common enemy."

The last form of identification, according to Burke, is more subtle. He claims (1972, p. 28) that "the major power of 'identification' derives from situations in which it goes unnoticed." Use of inclusive language, such as "we," asserts Burke, may slyly indicate similarities between two groups even though the goals between the groups are different. In *A Rhetoric of Motives* (p. 36), Burke suggests that "This aspect of identification, whereby one can protect an interest merely by using terms not incisive enough to criticize it properly, often brings rhetoric to the edge of cunning." This implies that using vague terminology to create a sense of identification, where there really is none, could also fall under this category of identification.

Using these three concepts of identification will help illustrate in what ways the presidential candidates are attempting to persuade and build relationships with Latino voters during the primary.

Method

The method relies on textual analysis of Web site messages examining each candidate's use of (1) identification by common experience/association, (2) identification by common enemy or antithesis, and (3) identification by subtlety or cunning. Textual analysis is a common qualitative method used to analyze texts. It requires the researcher to identify themes and meaning. In this study, the researcher focused on identifying the frequency with which the different types of identification occurred in the messages.

The type of identifications were matched with the definitions used by Burke. For example, cases of identification by common experience/association were classified by how the candidates presented their values or their participation in activities with those common to particular Hispanic cultures. The category for identification by common enemy or antithesis was defined as an attempt by the candidates to illustrate solidarity with an Hispanic public against a perceived threat. Identification by subtlety or cunning was operationalized as trying to influence Hispanic voters by using subtle visual cues (e.g., including Hispanics in photos) or through subtle language cues.

The texts examined are from the candidates' Web pages. The material reflects information available on the candidate's Web sites on January 20, January 23, and February 3, 2000. These dates were chosen because they were just prior to the January 24 Iowa caucuses and the February 1 New Hampshire primary. These dates were also selected because the candidates tended to update their Web site pages close to big events.[4] There were no changes to Al Gore's Web site in Spanish for several weeks after the New Hampshire primary. George W. Bush

[4] Many of the news releases and information posted to the Web site could be dated back as far as July 1999 even though it may have been recently posted or the most current information during the January-February time period.

added one link in the couple weeks that followed of a print advertisement that is dated November 1999 and is in Spanish and English. This ad is omitted from analysis because only the headline appears in Spanish.

The information posted by the candidates to their Web sites included candidate biographies, an introductory greeting, issue statements, and endorsements. The focus is specifically on messages presented explicitly for Hispanics in Spanish. These messages are distinguished by (1) being posted on the candidates' "En Español" (*In Spanish*) Web site, and (2) customization of statements to the Hispanic experience, e.g., ¿Cómo beneficiará el plan a los Hispanos? (*How do Hispanics benefit from this plan?*)

Analysis

Overview

George W. Bush's Web site, launched Oct. 18, 1999, contained more messages (n=21) specifically targeted to the Hispanic population than did Al Gore's Web site during the time frame examined.[5] Bush's information was also more frequently updated than Gore's. The message themes presented by Bush tended to focus on family values, education, character, conservatism, and lowering taxes for "working families." Bush's site contained three articles mentioning the caucuses in Iowa or/and the New Hampshire primary.

Al Gore's Web site, identified by his logo *Viva Gore 2000* (Live Gore), contained only 10 text items.[6] His messages focused primarily on immigration, crime, education, economic opportunities for Hispanics, health care, tax cuts, and prosperity in the information age. Gore's site did not contain any specific messages regarding Iowa or New Hampshire. He did include

[5] See Appendix A for a full list of Bush's texts examined.
[6] See Appendix B for a full list of Gore's texts examined.

one endorsement and reference specific to the Texas primary. Although there were few overall messages that referred to the primary or caucus, it is clear that the candidates posted their messages to reach potential voters and build identification with them during this time period.

Identification by common experience/association.

Bush and his advisers used several strategies to demonstrate that Bush shares common experiences with Hispanics. In a news release ("El Gobernador Bush celebra," 1999) about Bush's participation in the celebration of Mexican Independence day in Detroit, Bush was quoted as saying "Long live the United States, and long live Mexico!" Bush was portrayed as understanding the significance of the Mexican holiday and capable of celebrating two cultures, as many Americans do.

Another news release ("La Familia Bush celebra," 1999) centered on the Christmas decorations in the Texas governor's mansion. It featured quotes from Texan artists who described how proud they were to have their art recognized by being displayed at the governor's mansion. Mrs. Bush was quoted saying "Texas is a state rich in ethnic diversity and because of that, the Hispanic culture is present in our house and in our Christmas decorations." Photos accompanying the release featured colorful piñata decorations and a photo of the Christmas tree. The Bushes were trying to create the idea or image that they share common experiences with Mexican Americans and other Latinos. It is also noteworthy that the quote came from Mrs. Bush, portrayed as playing the traditional female role.

Bush also used endorsements by Latino organizations and leaders to show that he already had built relationships with Latino community leaders. By association, Bush is "a friend" with Latinos other Latinos may know and recognize. To build this relationship during the Iowa

caucus, Bush announced his Hispanic leadership group in Iowa ("Bush anuncia," 1999). To further drive home that these members are "people like you," the members' occupations are listed as "homemaker," "city employee," "small business owner," etc.

Another press release ("L.U.L.A.C.," 1999) promoted the League of Latin American Citizens' (LULAC) endorsement of the Bush tax cut. The release listed statements of support made by LULAC's Iowa District No. 2 about how Bush's tax cut would favor Hispanic families.

A third press release ("En Iowa y New Hampshire," 2000) mentioned Bush's primary campaign to win the Republican Party nomination. It concentrated on persuading Web visitors that Bush's tax plan, "favors working families and principally Hispanics…families with few economic resources, and particularly single mothers with children." Although only about 2% of Iowa's population and 1.5% of New Hampshire's population is Hispanic (U.S. Census Bureau, 1999), Bush worked to reach these potential voters.

Gore did not include Iowa-specific information with voters or stories of his involvement with the Latino community. In his biography, which was very similar to the English-language version, he described how his mother worked as a waitress, to make it through law school, receiving tips of only 25 cents during the Great Depression. Here, Gore is identifying with the working family through illustrating his mother's experience and thus to many Hispanic working families.

Perhaps the best way Gore identified with the voters is by the old family photos posted to the "La Familia Gore" (*The Gore Family*) Web page. These photos show Gore as a child, in Vietnam, with his children when they were young, and with his wife Tipper. Latinos typically are family-oriented, so these photos illustrate that Gore is a family man—which also contrasts

and differentiates him from images of the Clinton family, and his democratic challenger Bill Bradley. Missing from the Spanish-language site, but posted to the English-language site, is a photo of the entire Gore family and several paragraphs about his "Tennessee Values." Perhaps Gore's aides did not feel portraying Gore as a non-Washington politician was as important to Latino voters as non-Latino voters. (Bush's site did not provide such intimate family photos.)

Gore's site also contained endorsements from Hispanic leaders, but they were not specific to the Iowa caucuses or New Hampshire primary, but to national trends and the Texas primary. A list of 500 Hispanic community leaders and politicians were listed in a press release which described the launch of his Latino campaign initiative "Ganamos con Gore," (*We Win With Gore*). The site also contained a release announcing Texas Democrats endorsing Gore ("Los Demócratas Tejanos," 2000). Here Gore demonstrated that he has the support in Texas that Bradley didn't, but looking ahead, it demonstrated that even though Bush is from Texas, Gore has support there as well. The release noted that "the endorsement is one indication of the preference of 2 million Hispanic voters who will vote on March 14, and is considered a benchmark from which to measure support [for Gore] of Hispanic voters nationwide." They were making some bold claims based on a small sample of 2,500 Texas Democratic Party activists. The Gore camp was trying to persuade Hispanics that if Texans support Gore, then by extension, Gore must be good for Latinos.

Identification by antithesis

The lead story on Bush's Spanish home page on January 26, was "El sueño Americano es para todos" (*The American Dream is for Everyone*). This essay used emotional appeals to show that Bush is fighting (together with Hispanics) against unnamed others who do not feel a good

education should be for everyone (e.g., Hispanics). The text says:[7]

> ...Bush believes that not to demand that children reach those [high] standards is more unjust and implies discrimination with a subtle racism. Others charge that it is impossible to demand more from the schools because the world is full of too many broken families, too many immigrants and too much diversity. The governor believes the opposite: that differences in skin color and the existence of poverty should not be barriers or obstacles to gaining academic excellence or success.

Here, Bush's campaign was portraying Bush as working with Hispanics against those who are subtle racists and do not believe that Hispanics and minorities can achieve academic success. His theme was that "no child should be left behind." This plays to the concerns of Hispanic parents. A recent survey by the Hispanic Business Roundtable (2000) of 1,000 Hispanic adults indicates that Hispanics feel their children are being taught nontraditional values at school, not getting proper instruction in the classroom and are being exposed to violence and drugs at school. Bush's stance also shows that he is distancing himself from former Republican policies to restrict immigration and push English-only legislation.

Bush also demonstrated that he sides with Hispanics in opposing the Clinton administration's announcement on January 5, 2000 that Elian Gonzalez should go back to Cuba. Bush was quoted as saying:[8]

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[7] Original Spanish version: "Bush cree que el no exigir que se alcancen estos estándares es más injusto e implica discriminación con un racismo sutil. Otros alegan que es imposible exigirles más a las escuelas porque el mundo está lleno de demasiadas familias desechas, demasiados inmigrantes, demasiada diversidad. El Gobernador cree todo lo contrario: las diferencias en el color de la piel y la existencia de la pobreza no deben ser impedimentos y obstáculos para lograr la excelencia académico y el éxito."

[8] Spanish version: "Es un error. El papá del pequeño debería de venir a los Estados Unidos, para que pueda palpar la libertad entonces asi, pueda tomar una decisión real, basada en lo que sea mejor para su hijo. Yo no confío en

> It's a mistake. The father of the child should come to the United States so that he can feel freedom and therefore make a real decision based on what is best for his child. I do not trust Fidel Castro, nor the circumstances under which Elian's father is making his decision. It is a mistake for immigration to return this boy to Cuba.

Here, not only is the Clinton administration the enemy, but so is Fidel Castro. Bush was presenting himself as a friend of Latino peoples and particularly to the large Cuban-American population in Florida, where his brother Jeb is governor. Bush also reached out to Cuban-American voters in the essay "El sueño Americano es para todos" (*The American Dream is for Everyone*):

> With respect to Cuba, Gov. Bush firmly believes the Castro government should comply with the following three conditions: hold free and open elections, permit freedom of expression, and release the island's political prisoners.

Bush sided with the Cuban-Americans against Castro's Cuba. Borrus (2000) notes that some of Florida's Cuban-Americans have embraced the Republican Party because of its anti-Castro position.

Gore did not target Hispanic subgroups like Bush. He implied, by his language, that he is always "luchando" or fighting for Hispanics whether it is to get a law passed by Congress or to protect minorities from hate crimes. Typically, he described that his record shows he's been fighting to get bills important to Hispanics passed through Congress, such as the Children's Health Insurance Program ("Al Gore Revela," 2000). He also included discourses about needing

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Fidel Castro, ni en las circunstancias en las que el papá de Elian está tomando esta decisión. Es un error que la inmigración regrese a este niño a Cuba."

tougher sentences against those who would commit hate crimes. In one of the speeches ("Comentarios de Vicepresidente," 1999), Gore mentioned groups targeted by hate crimes, but omitted mention of Hispanics. He did include it, however, in his essay "El Vicepresidente Al Gore luchando por la comunidad Hispana," (*Vice President Al Gore Fighting for the Hispanic Community*). Gore did not mention his challengers for the Democratic Party nominations and neither did Bush.

Identification by subtlety or cunning

Both Gore and Bush used the plural and inclusive pronoun and verb forms that are similar to what Burke describes as "we" to tie themselves to Latino groups. Also, a subtle form of identification was the generic use of Hispanic or Latino. Only on rare occasions, usually when a Latino is identifying himself or herself in a quote, were the labels Mexican American, Cuban American or Tejano used. This occurred more often on Bush's Web site.

In addition, use of the inclusive terms "we" and "comunidad hispana," (*Hispanic community*) creates a clever form of persuasion. Not only are the candidates inferring they share common bonds with Hispanic groups by putting themselves in the same group, but they are grouping Hispanics together as one panethnic group. The candidates, particularly Gore, were identifying and grouping together members of diverse cultures (Guatemalans, Costa Ricans, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, etc.) into one group. This appeal may work well with Hispanics who have assimilated into U.S. mainstream culture, but may not address the needs of the diverse Latino immigrant groups (Booth, 2000).

Bush used photos of Hispanic/Texan artwork in one of his news releases, but Gore was more understated in his use of visual appeals. In documents or on pages with generic messages,

there were photos of Latinos in the background. Gore's main Spanish Web page contained two photos of Latinos – one where Gore is shaking hands with Latino women holding babies, and another where a group of Latinos are literally "standing behind him" while he speaks to a larger audience. The word "Ganamos" (*We win*) is also in the photo, implying Gore is a champion/winner. Another photo included in his discourse on health care shows Gore at the podium with two (rather bored) Latino children in the background and a banner in English "Healthcare That Works For Working Families."

Although Bush's site contained more messages tailored for Latinos (e.g., "How do Latinos benefit from this?"), Gore's use of Latinos in photos helped potential voters see "people like them" supporting and surrounding Gore. These visual images may have had more persuasive impact than presentation of prepared statements on issues about Elian Gonzalez or announcing Lamar Alexander's support of Bush. This is in line with Burke's notion of a less perceptible form of persuasion.

In addition, Gore and Bush did their homework on the concerns and needs of their Hispanic constituents. Issues reported to concern Latinos include education, values, incivility, and crime and violence (Cohen, 2000). Bush's main themes were education and values. Of the items posted to the Gore Web site, crime and health care were among the dominant themes presented. By identifying their issues with Latino voter concerns, the candidates showed that they care about the same issues as Latinos.

Discussion

This case study examined Bush and Gore's use of the Web to address Hispanic voters during the time period surrounding the Iowa caucuses and the New Hampshire primary.

Analysis shows that few (n=4) messages posted to the candidates' Web sites focused specifically on the caucuses or primary races. Bush mentioned them more than Gore, and provided Hispanic voters with more types of information. Information posted that was related to the caucuses and primaries focused primarily on endorsements of the candidates by Latino groups.

Use of the concept of identification revealed that Bush was more likely to differentiate between groups of Hispanics than Gore. It also shows that Bush expended more resources to portray himself as a candidate familiar with, if not immersed in, common activities and concerns to particular Hispanic groups. Gore tended to treat Hispanics as a homogenous or panethnic group. This somewhat reflects the same internal conflicts of group identity experienced by Latinos. A 1999 *Washington Post* Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation and Harvard University survey (Booth, 2000) indicates that while 52% of Latinos reported Latinos shared few political interests, 84% felt Latinos would be better off if they formed political coalitions.

Because this study only examines Web content, we cannot make any inference about how often the Web pages are used, how they are used, or the impact of their use. It does suggest that candidates are not using their Web sites to maximize users' abilities to gain information about their primary campaigns or how to participate in these campaigns. Bush's site did contain an icon of a box with a check mark that urged Latinos to register and vote. When clicked on, the box opens up with contact information for voters in the states of Arizona, California, Florida, Illinois, New Mexico, New York and Texas. This suggests that the campaign is primarily mobilizing the Hispanic vote in these states with the large electoral votes, yet the page also contains a link to another site with information by county in all states. More effort could be put into explaining and reporting on the primary processes by presenting specific primary election

information.

Because there were no mentions of party challengers, it appears that the candidates are focusing more of their efforts on Hispanics for the general election. However, with the frontloading of campaigns and the California and New York primaries on March 7, and the Florida primary on March 14, the candidates could better use the Internet, a comparatively inexpensive medium, to reach Latino computer users across the country.

Further studies could include measuring users' attitudes and learning from candidate Web sites to determine how effective the medium is in targeting potential voters. Studies should also examine who is likely to use Web sites in Spanish. Studies on Hispanic media use (Subervi-Vélez,1986) have shown that different types of Hispanics prefer distinct forms of media depending on their level of acculturation or assimilation. Studies comparing English to Spanish information on Web sites might also be useful in offering more insights into the candidate's campaign strategies.

As the size of the Latino population grows, and use of the Web increases, continued studies in this area of political communication will become increasingly valuable. The current study presents a baseline from which to expand and attempts to fill a gap in the literature regarding use of Web sites to promote candidates during the time period surrounding the Iowa caucus and New Hampshire presidential primary.

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APPENDIX A

Bush, G. W. (1999). http://www.georgewbush.com/espanol/index.html

- ¡Bienvendios! (*Welcome*)
- George W. Bush – Biographía (*Biography*)
- Laura Welch Bush – Biographía (*Biography*)
- En Iowa Y New Hampshire Bush Vuelve A Enfatizar Que Su Plan De Recorte De Impuestos Favorecera A Las Familias Trabajadoras (*In Iowa and New Hampshire Bush emphasizes his tax cut plan favors working families*)
- Comentario Del Gobernador George W. Bush En Respuesta A La Decision De La Administración Clinton De Regresar Al Nino De 6 Años Elian Gonzalez, A Cuba (*Commentary by Gov. George W. Bush in response to the Clinton Administration's decision to return the 6-year-old Elian Gonzalez to Cuba*)
- Elizabeth Dole Da Su Apoyo Oficial Al Gobernador Bush (*Elizabeth Dole gives her official support to Gov. Bush*)
- Cifras Record De Contribuyentes Y Apoyo Para Bush (*Financial contribution figures and support for Bush*)
- Lamar Alexander Apoya A George W. Bush (*Lamar Alexander gives support George W. Bush*)
- L.U.L.A.C. Y Otros Lideres Hispanos Apoyan El Plan De Recorte De Impuestos Del Gobernador George W. Bush (*L.U.L.A.C. and other Hispanic leaders support Governor George W. Bush's tax cut plan*)
- La Familia Bush Celebra La Navidad Rodeada De Tradiciones Y Arte Hispano (*The Bush family celebrates Christmas surround by Hispanic art and traditions*)
- Bush Para Presidente abre su Oficina de Campaña en Arizona (*Bush for President opens its campaign office in Arizona*)
- El Gobernador Bush habla de Política Exterior en La Biblioteca Ronald Reagan (*Gov. Bush discusses foreign affairs at the Ronald Reagan Library*)
- Comentarios Del Gobernador George W. Bush en Relación a la Tragedia En La Universidad De Texas A&M (*Comments from Gov. George Bush on the tragedy at the University of Texas A&M*)
- El Gobernador Bush Propone Nuevo Énfasis En La Seguridad En Las Escuelas, Disciplina Y Educación Con Carácter (*Gov. Bush proposes a new emphasis on safety in the schools, discipline and education of values*)
- Bush Anuncia Su Comité De Liderazgo Hispano En Iowa (*Bush announces his Hispanic leadership committee in Iowa*)
- El Gobernador Bush lanza su nueva página del Web en el Internet (*Gov. Bush launches is new Web site on the Internet*)
- George W. Bush Se Gana el Corazón de los Hispanos Y con Gran Esfuerzo Va Adelante en La Carrera Presidencial (*George W. Bush wins the heart of Hispanics, and moves forward in the presidential race*)
- El Gobernador Bush Promete No dejar a Ningún Niño Atrás (*Gov. Bush promises*

not to leave one child behind)

- El Gobernador Bush Recibe El Máximo Reconocimiento Por Su Contribución Y Compromiso Con Los Hispanos (*Gov. Bush receives maximum recognition for his contributions and promises with Hispanics*)
- El Gobernador Bush Celebra El Día De La Independencia De México (*Gov. Bush celebrations Mexican Independence Day*)
- El Sueño Americano es Para Todos (*The American Dream is for Everyone*).

APPENDIX B

Gore, A. (1999). http://www.algore2000.com/espanol/

- Mi Visión Para el Siglo 21 (*My vision for the 21st century*)
- La Familia Gore (*The Gore family*)
- Comentarios del Vicepresidente Al Gore Para Las Familias Estadounidenses Sobre la Lucha Contra el Crimen (*Comments by Vice President Al Gore to American families about the fight against crime*)
- El Vice Presidente Al Gore Luchando Por la Comunidad Hispana (*Vice President Al Gore fighting for the Hispanic community*)
- Al Gore Revela Agenda Para Mejorar el Cuidad de Salud de Las Familias Norteamericanas (*Al Gore reveals agenda for bettering health care for American families*)
- Luchando Por un Paquete de Recortes Contributivos Responsables, Justos y que Ponen "Primero lo Primero." (*Fighting for responsible and tax cut package that is responsible and fair, putting first things first*)
- Construyendo Propseridad Estadounidense en La Era de la Informática (*Constructing U.S. prosperity in the information age*)
- Funcionarios Hispanos Electos y Lideres Comunitarios Endosan a Al Gore – El Vice Presidente Lanza Su Campaña "Ganamos con Gore" (*Hispanic politicians and community leaders endorse Al Gore – The Vice President launches his campaign "We Win with Gore"*)
- Los Demócratas Tejanos Endosan a Al Gore Para Presidente: El vltimo Apoyo Amplio de Los Latinos Para Gore. (*Texas democrats endorse Gore for President – The latest example of wide Hispanic support for Gore*)
- Mujeres Apoyan Gore (*Women support Gore*)

Justifying the FCC's Minority Preference Policies

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Abstract

This study investigates how courts have used empirical evidence in justifying the standard of review they applied as their rationale in FCC's minority preference and equal protection policies. The study suggests that courts should adopt not only evidence of historical and societal discrimination but also empirical evidence as their rationale, since in previous studies empirical evidence has already shown a positive correlation between minority ownership and program diversity in broadcasting.

Also, this study argues that to enhance program diversity in U.S. broadcasting intermediate scrutiny is more appropriate than strict scrutiny, because the FCC's minority preference policies involve not only the constitutional guarantees of equal protection under the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments, but also the free speech and press guarantees of the First Amendment.

Introduction

It is widely recognizable that the American media is becoming more concentrated and controlled by a handful of companies capable of affecting politics, culture, and economics.[1] These media cater to majoritarian views because of their profitability. As a result, the marketplace of ideas lacks diversity, even though providing the public with a variety of viewpoints is an important government interest. Minority owners report that since the passage of the Telecommunications Act of 1996[2] they have undergone increased competition in securing highly ranked syndicated programming, in attracting advertisers and earning advertising revenue, and in hiring and personnel retention.[3] Empirical studies have shown that minority ownership leads to viewpoint diversity on the airwaves.[4]

Despite this evidence, however, some courts have held that ownership has little effect on programming content, and used that as a rationale to strike down diversity of ownership requirements. The United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia

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[1] Recent mergers such as AOL with Time Warner, Inc. and AT&T with TCI.

[2] Andrea Adelson, *Minority Voice Fading for Broadcast Owners*, N.Y. TIMES, May 19, 1997, at D9. "The Telecommunications Act of 1996 set off a flood of mergers in the radio industry by relaxing the limits on radio ownership to as many as eight stations in a single market. Radio giants quickly emerged, such as Westinghouse's combination of CBS Radio with Infinity Broadcasting. Also, two of the largest minority-owned radio groups, U.S. Radio Inc. of Philadelphia and Lombard Negales Partners of San Francisco, which together had 35 stations, were sold. Those two deals reduced to 300 the number of broadcast properties controlled by minority owners. That number represents only 3 percent of the nation's 11,400 stations."

[3] *See Minority Commercial Broadcast Ownership in the United*, NTIA Report, <http://www.ntia.doc.gov/opadhome/press/minown98.htm>.

[4] *See e.g.*, Congressional Research Service Report 21, *Minority Broadcast Station Ownership and Broadcast Programming: Is There a Nexus?* (June 29, 1988); Jeff Dubin & Matthew L. Spitzer, *Testing Minority Preferences in Broadcasting*, 68 S. CAL. L.REV. 841-74 (1995); Peter O. Steiner, *Programming Patterns and Preferences, and the Workability of Competition in Radio Broadcasting*, 66 Q. J. OF ECON. 194 (1952); Allard Sicco De Jong & Benjamin J. Bates, *Channel Diversity in Cable Television*, 35 J. BROADCASTING & ELECTRONIC MEDIA 159, 160 (1991); Fife, M. The Impact of Minority Ownership on Broadcast Program Content: A Case Study of WGPR's Local News Content. Washington, D.C.: National Association of Broadcasters.

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in 1998 found that the FCC's broadcast equal employment opportunity policies to be unconstitutional.[5] On September 15, the full court divided but ultimately denied rehearing. This affirmed the panel's decision and paved the way for resolution by the Supreme Court. This decision appears contradictory and misleading because in *Metro*,[6] the Supreme Court determined that the nexus between minority ownership and programming diversity is corroborated by a host of empirical evidence.

Part of the reason that courts have found the empirical evidence on ownership and content diversity unpersuasive had to do with the standard of review they have used in these cases. Courts that have been skeptical of the empirical evidence have employed strict scrutiny, which is a higher standard of review than intermediate scrutiny. If courts continue to use standard of review, much more rigorous empirical studies of the relationship between minority ownership and content diversity should be conducted.

The purpose of this study is two-fold. First, it investigates how courts have used empirical evidence as the rationale of their decisions in the cases regarding FCC's minority preference broadcasting and equal protection policies. Second, this study explores which standard of review would be more appropriate in deciding the FCC's minority preference and equal protection policies to enhance diversity in U.S. broadcasting.

FCC's Minority Ownership Policies

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[5] Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod v. FCC, 141 F.3d 344 (D.C. Cir. 1998).

[6] Metro Broadcasting, Inc. v. FCC, 110 S. Ct. 2997, *reh'g denied*, 111 S. Ct. 15 (1990).

The FCC designed the 1978 broadcast policy statement[7] to promote minority ownership of broadcast services. It authorized the use of comparative hearing preferences favoring minority applicants, the distress sale policy, and the award of tax certificates to owners of broadcast or cable systems who sold to minority-controlled businesses.

In 1978, the Commission instituted its minority tax certificate and distress sale policies, both of which provide incentives to owners of broadcast and cable television properties to sell their stations to minorities. The tax certificate policy enables the seller of a broadcast station or cable television system to defer the gain realized on that sale if the property is sold to a minority purchaser. The distress sale policy permits a broadcast licensee whose license has been designated for a revocation hearing to sell its station, after designation for hearing but prior to commencement of the hearing, to a minority-controlled entity at 75 percent or less of the station's fair market value.[8]

When the Broadcast Policy Statement was first adopted in 1978, minorities owned approximately .05 percent of the approximately 8,500 broadcast licenses issued by the FCC.[9] Since then, minority ownership in the broadcast industry has grown from less than one percent to a modest three percent of all stations in the U.S. Merely examining the percentages of minority ownership over time does not provide a clear picture of the growth in minority broadcast ownership, because the number of broadcast stations has more than doubled since 1978. In fiscal year 1978, there were approximately 9,565

[7] Statement of Policy on Minority Ownership of Broadcast Facilities, Public Notice, 68 FCC 2d 979 (1978).
[8] Policies and Rules Regarding Minority and Female Ownership of Mass Media Facilities, MM Docket Nos. 94-149 and 81-150, <http://www.fcc.gov/Bureaus/Mass_Media/Notices/1994/fcc94323.txt>.

broadcast stations in operation.[10] Four tax certificates were issued.[11] In calendar year 1995, approximately 22,685 broadcast stations were in operation including low power television.[12] Three hundred twenty six tax certificates had been issued from 1978 to May 1995 when the FCC discontinued the tax certificate program.[13] Therefore, it is viewed that the FCC's minority ownership policies clearly succeeded in promoting minority ownership, because minority ownership in the broadcast sector between 1978 and 1995 tripled on a percentage basis while the total number of stations more than doubled.

Judicial Review of FCC's Minority Preference Policies

Metro Broadcasting, Inc. v. FCC

In 1990, the United States Supreme Court decided *Metro Broadcasting, Inc. v. FCC*.[14] The Court affirmed two of the FCC's three policies encouraging minority ownership of broadcast media. The Court found the enhancement for minority ownership and management in comparative license cases and the distress sale transfer to a minority enterprise to be consistent with the constitutional guarantee of equal protection of the laws. The Court determined the policies are substantially related to the achievement of government's important interest in broadcast diversity.[15]

Under the diversity doctrine, increasing the number of minority viewpoints by increasing minority ownership of the media is important to achieving the critical first

[9] FCC Administration of Internal Revenue Code 1071, 9-10. Hearings before the Subcomm. On Oversight of the House Comm. On Ways and Means, 103d Cong., 1st Sess. (1995).
[10] FCC, 44th Annual Report Fiscal Year 24 (1978).
[11] FCC, Minority Ownership Lists (1994).
[12] Broadcast Station Totals as of December 31, 1995, FCC News, Jan. 19, 1996, at 1.
[13] FCC, MM, Tax Certificates Issued Through May 1995 (1995).
[14] 110 S. Ct. 2997, *reh'g denied*, 111 S. Ct. 15 (1990).

amendment goal of diversifying control of the means of communication. This goal is appropriate because the right to speak is vested in the owner. Under an expansive interpretation of the equal protection doctrine, increasing minority ownership of the mass media is important to the critical fourteenth amendment goal of removing the results of historical societal discrimination.[10]

At issue in the *Metro Broadcasting* case were two of the FCC's minority ownership policies-the minority enhancement policy and the distress sale policy. In *Metro Broadcasting*, the majority held that the minority ownership policies, although not intended to be remedial, do not violate equal protection. Justice Brennan, writing for the majority, found the policies, which were specifically approved and mandated by Congress,[11] serve the important government interest of broadcast diversity and are substantially related to that interest.[12] The finding of a substantial relationship between the policies and the government's interest in broadcast diversity was deemed to be supported by the government's conclusion that there is an empirical nexus between minority ownership and greater diversity.[13] The FCC's conclusion was found to be consistent with its long held view that ownership is a primary determinant of program diversity.[14] Further, the majority determined that the ascertained link between minority

[10] *Id.* at 3010-11.
[11] *See* Allen S. Hammond, IV, *Diversity and Equal Protection in the Marketplace: The Metro Broadcasting Case in Context*, 44 ARK. L.J. 1065 n.4 (1991).
[12] *Supra* note 6.
[13] Metro Broadcasting, *supra* note 6, at 3010-16.
[14] *Id.* at 3011.
[15] *Id.* at 3010.

ownership and greater diversity was not a function of impermissible stereotyping, but the product of educated expectation corroborated by empirical evidence.[21]

In contrast, the dissent argued that the minority ownership policies violated the constitutional guarantee of equal protection because the government did not treat all citizens as "individuals" but as components of a racial or ethnic class.[22] It argued that the government's interest in diversity of broadcast viewpoints is not sufficiently compelling to justify use of racial classifications. According to Justice O'Connor, the government has no ability to define or measure a particular "race related" viewpoint[23] or assess the diversity of broadcast viewpoints. Consequently, the interest could support arbitrary measures that could amount to "outright racial balancing."[24] The dissent maintained that the FCC's statutory authority to promote constitutional measures to enhance diversity of viewpoints does not establish its interest as important for equal protection purposes. Following on the same track, the dissent found that the use of the government's interest in diversity as justification for the minority ownership policies was an "unsettled First Amendment Issue."[25]

The dissent was particularly critical of the evidentiary basis for the majority's finding of a nexus between minority ownership and program content. It questioned the FCC's assertion of a strong correlation of race and behavior based on the low percentage

[21] *Id.* at 3016.
[22] *Id.* at 3028-29 (O'Connor, J., dissenting).
[23] State action involving fundamental rights, such as freedom of speech, or "suspect" classifications, such as race, are subject to "strict scrutiny" by the courts: the legislation will be upheld only if there is a "compelling interest" at stake. Virtually all legislation fails this test. See Wilkinson, *The Supreme Court, The Equal Protection Clause, and the Three Faces of Constitutionality*, 61 Virginia. L. R. 945 (1975).
[24] *Supra* note 6, at 3035 (quoting City of Richmond v. J.A. Croson Co., 488 U.S. 469, 1989, at 507).
[25] *Id.* at 3036.

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of minority-owned stations.[26] The dissent would not allow the FCC to rely on minority under-representation as a justification for its policies unless it could establish minority owned stations provide minority views while majority owned stations cannot or do not. It further suggested, without elaboration, that the marketplace would mediate a minority owner's exercise of editorial control such that there is a reduced assurance that the owners' viewpoint will emerge unrestrained.[27]

In *Metro Broadcasting*, while the majority relied substantially on empirical evidence such as the Congressional Research Service Report,[28] the dissent almost completely ignored that. The Court acknowledged that there are instances in which evidence of such a nexus have been found.[29]

Also, the majority assessed the government's minority ownership policies in the context of the historic and current evidence of minority under-representation in broadcast ownership and misrepresentation in programming provided by the majority owned broadcast media.[30] Based on the evidence and given the policies' relationship to more than a half century of judicially approved congressional and administrative policy and statutory law valuing diversity, the majority concluded that the government's interest in diversity is important and the remedy appropriate.[31]

Congress, the FCC and *Metro Broadcasting* Court found that a minority owner's status tends to influence the selection of news and editorial viewpoint and the

[26] *Id.* at 3039-41.
[27] *Id.*
[28] Congressional Research Service Report 21, *Minority Broadcast Station Ownership and Broadcast Programming: Is There a Nexus?* (June 29, 1988).
[29] *See* Office of the United Church of Christ v. FCC, 359 F. 2d 994 (D.C. Cir. 1966); *In re* Fairness Doctrine Requirements, 40 F.C.C. 641 (1965); Lamar Life Broadcasting Co., 38 F.C.C. 1143 (1965).
[30] *Supra* note 6, at 3021.

presentation of minority images in local news programming.[32] Meanwhile, despite this evidence and the historical lack of diversity provided by major portions of the majority-owned media, Justice O'Connor, in dissent, found no ascertainable nexus between minority ownership and diversity. Justice O'Connor asserted that the government's reliance on such evidence is merely reliance on stereotypes, aggregate tendencies, and probabilities which inevitably do not apply to certain individuals.[33]

The majority held that enhancing broadcast diversity constitutes an important governmental objective.[34] In doing so, the Court deferred to the FCC's conclusion that an empirical nexus exists between minority ownership and the inclusion of minority views in programming.[35] Justice Brennan's conclusion that providing the public with a wide variety of viewpoints over the airwaves is an important government interest followed a sketchy analysis, which patched together the Court's four major cases on broadcast media and the First Amendment.[36] Furthermore, statistical disparity between minority owners and minority viewers is not the issue in a broadcast context.[37] The deficiency addressed by the FCC policies is the inadequate exposure of both African-American and white

[31] Hammond, *supra* note 16, at 1078.
[32] *Metro Broadcasting*, 110 S. Ct. at 3016-19 & nn 31-35 (citing various studies supporting the finding of a nexus between minority ownership and diversity).
[33] *Id.* at 3038-43 (O'Connor dissenting).
[34] *Metro Broadcasting*, 110 S.Ct. at 3010-11 (pointing out that benefits of broadcast diversity not limited to minority groups, but rather "redound to all members of the viewing and listening audience").
[35] *Id.* at 3011.
[36] *Metro Broadcasting*, 110 S.Ct. at 3010. The majority relied on the following four cases: FCC v. League of Women Voters of Cal., 468 U.S. 364, 377 (1984); CBS v. Democratic Nat'l Comm., 412 U.S. 94, 122 (1973); Red Lion Broadcasting Co. v. FCC, 395 U.S. 367, 390 (1969); NBC v. United States, 319 U.S. 190, 226 (1943).
[37] *See* West Mich. Broadcasting Co. v. FCC, 735 F.2d 601609 (D.C. Cir. 1984) (FCC advocates desirability of providing "the listening audience as a whole with programming choices that reflect a diversity of viewpoints and perspectives").

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viewers to people of color under conditions that could foster the development of diverse role models.[38]

Lamprecht v. FCC[39]

In *Lamprecht*, FCC's minority preference policy based on gender preference was struck down. The Court of Appeals held that preference for female owners violated equal protection principles. The court said that the need for diversity and sensitivity reflected in the structure of a broadcast station is not so pressing with respect to women as it is with respect to blacks because women have not been excluded from the mainstream of society as have black people.[40] In *Metro Broadcasting*, the court expressly refused to pass judgment on the Commission's policy of preferring applicants on the basis of gender.

On the other hand, in *Lamprecht*, the Court noted that "having considered the evidence offered to demonstrate a link between ownership by women and any type of underrepresented programming, we are left unconvinced."[41] The Court argued that the Commissions brief cites nothing that might support its predictive judgment that women owners will broadcast women's or minority or any other underrepresented type of programming at any different rate than will men.[42] The Court noted whatever the

[38] *See* Kurt E. Wimmer, *The Future of Minority Advocacy Before the FCC: Using Marketplace Rhetoric to Urge Policy Change*, 41 Fed. Comm. L.J. 133, 139 n.21 (1989) (minority children's determination of self-worth may be harmed by media portrayal of minority role models).
[39] 958 F.2d 382 (D.C.Cir. 1992).
[40] *Id.* at 384.
[41] *Id.* at 395.
[42] *Id.*

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methodological flaws of the Congressional Research Service Report,[43] this report did answer its own question, at least with respect to women and the answer was "no." The Court summarized the report as follows: Of stations owned primarily by women, slightly more than a third, or 35%, broadcast what the study calls "women's programming." Of stations owned entirely by "non-women," a slightly lower portion, or 28%, broadcast women's programming. For others given preferences in comparative licensing, the difference is dramatic. For instance, of stations owned primarily by Blacks, 79% broadcast Black programming, while of stations owned entirely by people who are not Black, 20% broadcast Black programming; of stations owned primarily by Hispanics, 74% broadcast Hispanic programming, while of stations owned entirely by people who are not Hispanic, 10% broadcast Hispanic programming, and so forth. In contrast, stations owned primarily by women are just one and one quarter times as likely to broadcast women's programming as are stations owned entirely by men.[44]

Judge Clarence Thomas reviewed the evidence contained in the CRS report and concluded that female ownership had little effect on programming content.[45] Judge Thomas created ten tables from the material contained in the CRS report and used them to show that female ownership of broadcasting stations is insufficiently effective at producing diverse programming.[46] Judge Thomas noted that intermediate scrutiny requires judges to draw lines between policies with moderately strong and moderately

[43] *See supra* note 28. Unfortunately, *Minority Programming* does not define terms such as "women's programming" or ("minority programming," for that matter), but rather, relied on the reporting stations to characterize themselves.
[44] *Id.* at 35.
[45] *Supra* note 28.
[46] *Id.* at 399-402.

weak support, and the female preference policy fell on the weak side of the line, thereby was struck down as unconstitutional.[47]

In this context, the court noted that the data in Minority Programming[48] failed to establish any statistically meaningful link between ownership by women and programming of any particular kind. The Court, therefore, concluded the government failed to show that its gender-preference policy is substantially related to achieving diversity on the airwaves.[49]

Meanwhile, Mikva, Chief Judge, filed a dissenting opinion. Judge Mikva pointed out that the cover page of the CRS study concluded, "there is a strong indication that minority and women station ownership result in a greater degree of minority programming,"[50] and that the study showed "while stations with women owners lag slightly behind those with minority owners in programming for minorities generally, a substantial percentage of women-owned stations programs for blacks and Hispanic audiences."[51] In this sense, Judge Mikva argued that while the *Metro Court* took the study's conclusion at face value, the majority of *Metro* ignored the central conclusion printed on the face of the study.[52] Judge Mikva continued that the data also reveal a statistical correlation between female ownership and minority programming. Twenty-six percent of stations with female owners broadcast programming targeted to Blacks, while 20% of stations owned by "non-Blacks" do.[53]

[47] *Supra* note 39, at 398.
[48] *See supra* note 28.
[49] *See supra* note 39, at 398.
[50] *See supra* note 28.
[51] *Id.* at 44.
[52] *See supra* note 39, at 413.
[53] *See supra* note 28, at 14.

Judge Mikva asserted that the right question is whether a correlation exists, on the whole, between female owner-managers and diverse programming.[54] The report, however, understated that correlation because, according to statistics, only 18% of the female owners in the survey were also managers.[55] Judge Mikva also argued that the report also understated the correlation because it asked only about programming specifically targeted at women, minorities, children and senior citizens, and not at general audiences.[56]

Judge Mikva continued to argue that the majority failed to mention that data from the same cities suggested a significant link between female ownership and minority programming.[57] Furthermore, Judge Mikva pointed out that the majority's relying on the report's finding that radio stations with at least one women owner use broadcasting formats in nearly the same order as stations owned by "non-minorities" (which includes men and women) was inappropriate. That means the majority cannot possibly expect stations owned by women to program soft, "feminine," music, or to replace a "Country Western" format with "Adult Contemporary." In other words, more female owner-managers will likely enhance the diversity of programming within the existing formats, and the study certainly does not disprove it.[58]

Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod v. FCC[59]

[54] *See supra* note 39, at 413.
[55] *See supra* note 28, at 40.
[56] *Id.* at 54.
[57] *See supra* note 39, at 413.
[58] *Id.* at 414.
[59] *See supra* note 1.

Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod appealed the FCC's finding that it transgressed equal employment opportunity regulations through the use of religious hiring preferences and inadequate minority recruiting. The United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia struck down the FCC's broadcast equal employment opportunity policies.

The United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit analyzed the Commission's Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) policies under the 1995 Supreme Court *Adarand*[49] case, which held that racial classifications can only be justified to advance compelling governmental interests. The Court found the Commission's policies to be a scheme of racial preference, since the Commission's EEO regulations and renewal processing guidelines encourage stations to select their hirees to reflect the racial composition of their area workforces. For this reason, the Court attacked the Commission's sole attempt to relate its EEO requirements to its statutory mandate of safeguarding the public interest --ensuring diversity of broadcast programming.

The Court questioned the assumption of linking race and viewpoint. It then went on to note that the Commission's apparent goal of making each station "all things to all people" through a racially balanced staff clashes with the reality of the radio market where each station typically targets a particular population segment.[51] Finally, the Court noted that, even were the Commission's rationale true, it still would not explain why EEO should extend to engineers, secretaries, business managers and others who presumably have little influence over the diversity of a station's broadcast programming.[52]

[49] Adarand Constructors, Inc. v. Pena, 515 U.S. 200 (1995).
[50] Peter Gutmann, *Full Court Upholds Finding That Broadcast EEO Policies Are Unconstitutional*, http://www.commlaw.com/pepper/Memos/Broadcast/eeoconst.htm.
[51] *Id.*

Meanwhile, the Justice Department noted that even if strict scrutiny applied, the Commission's EEO employment guidelines met the compelling interest tests and narrow tailoring that strict scrutiny requires. The Court, however, asserted that even in Title VII[53] disparate impact cases, quite different sorts of statistics were employed for the limited purpose of determining whether a particular sort of job requirement disadvantages minorities. Thus, the Court noted that, comparing the proportionality of minorities in the employer's workforce to the proportionality of minorities in the overall population (the Metropolitan Statistical Area or MSA) would never be the relevant comparison under such cases; rather, the racial composition of those holding at-issue jobs is compared with the racial composition of qualified applicants or qualified persons in the labor market.[54]

The Court continued that the relevant statistical gauge was not the proportionality of minorities in the overall population was clear from the anti-discrimination rationale of Title VII--the purpose of statistical evidence was to expose possible discriminatory intent, not to establish a workforce that mirrors the racial breakdown of the MSA.[55] The Court argued that if discrimination under Title VII were defined as non-proportionality, much of the Supreme Court's recent equal protection cases would make little sense. The Court cited the dissenting opinion of *Metro* that "at the heart of the Constitution's guarantee of equal protection lies the simple command that the Government treat citizens as individuals, not as simply components of a racial, religious, sexual or national class."[56]

[53] 42 U.S.C. 2000e-2j (1994). ("Nothing contained in Title VII shall be interpreted to require any employer ... to grant preferential treatment to any individual or to any group because of race....").
[54] Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod v. FCC, No. 97-1116 (D.C. Cir., filed Sep 15, 1998).
[55] *Id.*
[56] Metro Broadcasting, Inc. v. FCC, 497 U.S. 547, 602 (1990) (O'Connor, J., dissenting).

The Court also noted the danger that relying solely on statistical disparities as proof of discrimination under Title VII could result in the imposition of de facto quotas. For this reason, the Court concluded that statistical evidence could be relevant in determining whether an employer's past practice was discriminatory was not equivalent to concluding that the absence of proportionality made out discrimination.[67]

In its *Lutheran Church* opinion, a unanimous circuit court expressed skepticism about a nexus between minority employment and viewpoint diversity. The Court stated that the commission never defined exactly what it means by "diverse programming" and the government's formulation of the interest seems too abstract to be meaningful. Based on this reasoning, the Court articulated that diversity did not elevate to the "compelling" level.[68]

Applying Intermediate or Strict Scrutiny

Among several issues addressed in the above-mentioned three cases, the crucial point was to justify the application of an intermediate or strict scrutiny standard. In this process, two different views of the degree of relevance and validity of empirical evidence, mostly from the CRS[69] report of the FCC, finding nexus between diversity of minority ownership and program diversity, functioned as an important catalyst in justifying a very deferential form of intermediate scrutiny or a very skeptical perspective of strict scrutiny.

[67] *Id.*
[68] Lutheran, 141 F. 3d at 355-356.
[69] *Supra* note 28.

The other point that should be noted is the appropriateness of strict scrutiny in outreach program in *Lutheran Church*. In *Adarand Constructors, Inc. v. Pena*,[70] the Supreme Court's most recent decision, the Court determined that strict scrutiny must be applied to all federal, state, and local government programs that employ racial classifications.[71] In *Lutheran Church*, the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia expanded *Adarand*'s scope to include not only remedial[72] preference programs,[73] but also nonremedial outreach programs, when it considered a challenge to the constitutionality of the FCC's equal opportunity regulations. Applying strict scrutiny, the court determined that part of the EEO regulations worked as racial classifications and, as such, unconstitutionally pressured employers to consider race in their hiring decisions.

That is, the court first determined that the EEO regulations served as "racial classifications," hence *Adarand*'s strict scrutiny should be applied.[74] It should be noted, however, that the *Lutheran Church* court failed to make a distinction between preference program and outreach program, even though there exists a significant difference between the potential indirect pressure for race based hiring exerted by outreach programs and the pressure directly imposed by preference programs.[75] Outreach programs typically involve minority recruitment efforts, self-studies to examine how a business makes employment

[70] 515 U.S. 200 (1995).
[71] *Constitutional law-Equal protection-D.C. Circuit finds FCC's Equal Employment Opportunity Regulations Unconstitutional* -Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod v. FCC, 141 F.3d 344 (D.C. Cir), reh'g en banc denied, 154 F. 3d 487 (D.C. Cir 1998). 112 HARV. L.REV. 988 n.4 (1999).
[72] Remedial programs employ race based measures to rectify past discrimination by the federal government, or by a system of racial exclusion in which the federal government has been "passive participant." *Croson*, 488 U.S. at 492.
[73] To overcome strict scrutiny, a challenged racial classification, which compels disparate treatment based on race, must serve a compelling governmental interest and be narrowly tailored to advance that interest. *See Adarand*, 515 U.S. at 227, 235.
[74] *See supra* note 1, at 351.
[75] *Supra note* 71, at 988-993.

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decisions, and data collection to evaluate the effects of the outreach program.[76] Because outreach programs do not necessarily make race or ethnicity a factor in hiring decisions, they do not directly pressure employers to make race based hiring decisions. Therefore, in order to justify applying *Adarand* to an outreach program, the D.C. Circuit should have engaged in empirical analysis of the threshold degree of pressure that a government regulation might exert upon an employer before the regulation becomes a racial classification requiring strict scrutiny.

The *O Brien* test and the strict scrutiny test are intended to balance the First Amendment rights of speakers against whatever competing interests governments has in regulating the speech.[77] The *O Brien* test arose out of a 1968 Supreme Court decision, *United States v. O Brien*.[78] The *O Brien* test states:

> A government regulation is sufficiently justified if its is within the constitutional power of the Government; if it furthers an important or substantial governmental interest; if the governmental interest is unrelated to the suppression of free expression; and if the incidental restriction on alleged First Amendment freedoms in no greater than is essential to the furtherance of that interest.[79]

On the other hand, strict scrutiny places a heavier burden on the government to justify the regulation of speech than that of the *O Brien* test. Strict scrutiny is known as the "compelling interest" test.[80] Under the strict scrutiny, First Amendment interests are

[76] See John Richard Carrigan & John J. Coleman, III, *The Clouds Future of Affirmative Action*, 57 ALA. LAW. 24, 24 (1996).
[77] *Supra* note 71.
[78] Matthew D. Bunker, *Levels of First Amendment Scrutiny and Cable Access Channels Requirements*, COMM. & the LAW, Sep. 5 (1993).
[79] United States v. O Brien, 391 U.S. 367 (1968).
[80] *Id.* at 377.
[81] Matthew D. Bunker, *supra* note 78, at 7.

upheld unless the governmental interest in regulation is compelling and that interest is achieved in the least restrictive manner.[82]

The *Metro Broadcasting* Court's intermediate scrutiny test required the government to show a substantial relationship between minority ownership and programming diversity.[83] In contrast, strict scrutiny would have demanded the government to establish that minority ownership policies were narrowly tailored to achieve the specified state interest.[84] It is viewed that because minority ownership policies can be perceived as a content-neutral means to regulate the broadcast industry,[85] intermediate test is appropriate.[86]

Justice Brennan's conclusion that a sufficient nexus exists between minority ownership and programming diversity was the product of the majority's appropriate deference to the "expertise of the Commission and the factfinding of Congress."[87] The majority relied on the FCC's conclusion that "ownership of broadcast facilities by minorities is a significant way of fostering the inclusion of minority views in the area of programming."[88] Judges considering the FCC affirmative action policies have searched

[82] *See e.g.*, Consolidated Edison Co. v. Public Serv. Comm'n, 447 U.S. 530 (1980); First National Bank of Boston v. Bellotti, 435 U.S. 765 (1978).
[83] *Metro Broadcasting*, 110 S.Ct. at 3008-09.
[84] *Id.* at 3032.
[85] *See* Hammond, *Now You See It Now You Don't: Minority Ownership in an "Unregulated" Video Marketplace*, 32 CATH. U. L. REV. 633, 651 (1983) ("The minority ownership policy is designed to increase diversity of program selection and ownership control within the video industry in a structural, content-neutral manner.").
[86] Mary Tabor, *Encouraging "those who would speak out with fresh voice" Through the Federal Communications Commission's Minority Ownership Policies*, 76 Iowa L.REV. 631 n3 (1991).
[87] *Metro Broadcasting*, 110 S.Ct. at 3016. Congress commissioned a study showing that "minority ownership ... does the diversity of viewpoints presented over the airwaves." (citing Congressional Research Service, Minority Broadcast Station Ownership and Broadcast Programming: Is There a Nexus? (June 29, 1988)).
[88] *Id.* at 3011 (citing Statement of Policy on Minority Ownership of Broadcast Facilities, 68 F.C.C. 2d 979, 981 (1978)).

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long and hard for a "nexus" between minority control of broadcast stations and diverse programming. Courts did find that proof of the nexus was readily available.[89]

As discussed above, the courts which dealt with the aforementioned three cases have applied the empirical evidence differently. The primary reason was attributable to the different perspective of validity and interpretations of the data. In this sense, it is recognized that the majority of *Metro Broadcasting* credited empirical evidence which demonstrates the nexus between minority ownership and program content diversity, whereas the dissent in *Metro* and the court of *Lutheran Church* along with *Lamprecht* tended to make light of them in deciding the constitutionality of FCC's minority preference policies and equal employment opportunity rules.

Empirical Evidence

Diversity is not only a fuzzy concept to define, but also it is much more difficult to find causality or nexus between minority ownership and diversity programming, which was the core issues for courts to decide. In this sense, it is desirable to review how several researchers defined diversity in a communications context. Diversity is a slippery concept to define, but communication scholars have tried to elucidate this term on a theoretical level.[90] Wolfgang Hoffmann-Riem, in particular, stressing the qualitative diversity of the

[89] *See Shurberg*, 876 F. 2d at 944 ("entirely foreseeable ... minority broadcasters ... will have distinct perspectives to convey."); H.R. Conf. Rep. No. 765, 97th Cong., 2nd Sess. 40 (1982) (recognizing nexus). Moreover, the Supreme Court has recognized a correlation between increasing licensee's minority employees and a corresponding fair reflection of "the tastes and viewpoints of minority groups." NAACP v. FCC, 425 U.S. 662, 670 n.7 (1976).

[90] *See, e.g.*, Robert M. Entman & Steven S. Wildman, *Reconciling Economic and Non-Economic Perspectives on Media Policy: Transcending the "Marketplace of Ideas,"* 42 J. OF COMM. 5 (1992); Victor E. Ferral, Jr., *The Impact of Television Deregulation on Private and Public Interests*, 39 J. OF COMM. 8 (1989); Wolfgang Hoffmann-Riem, *National Identity and Cultural Values: Broadcasting Safeguards*, 31 J. BROADCASTING & ELECTRONIC MEDIA 57 (1987).

media content provided rather than the variety of channels or broadcasting stations, identified four main dimensions of diversity: format and issues, contents, person or group, and geography.[91] Entman and Wildman created three distinct definitions, which have been employed in media policy analysis: product diversity, idea diversity, and access diversity.[92] Although media diversity has various aspects, the heart of the term refers to divergent points of view or frames of reference. In an empirical dimension, media researchers have developed a wide variety of diversity measures and determined the actual degree of diversity, beginning with Peter O. Steiner's study on radio broadcast programming patterns in 1952.[93] However, quantitative studies on diversity have been discussed in a slightly different way, just focusing on channel diversity and program diversity. One of the reasons is due to the difficulties of measuring viewpoint diversity, as two researchers asked a question, "what difference in content is significant enough to be considered diverse?"[94]

Several empirical studies, however, have been conducted in an effort to find the nexus between the viewpoint (program) diversity and minority ownership. According to Fife, the minority-owned station devoted more time to issues of racial importance of

[91] Hoffmann-Riem, *supra* note 90, at 60-62.

[92] Entman & Wildman, *supra* note 90, at 6-9.

[93] *See* Peter O. Steiner, *Programming Patterns and Preferences, and the Workability of Competition in Radio Broadcasting*, 66 Q. J. OF ECON. 194 (1952).

[94] Allard Sicco De Jong & Benjamin J. Bates, *Channel Diversity in Cable Television*, 35 J. BROADCASTING & ELECTRONIC MEDIA 159, 160 (1991).

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racial importance, presented more black newsmakers, and reflected an overall different perspective on news than its white-owned counterpart.[95]

Dubin and Spitzer tested a relationship between the number of minority-owned broadcasting stations and content diversity of broadcast programs. They concluded that increasing the number of minority-owned broadcasting stations increased the amount of minority-oriented programming.[96] To provide the first systematic, statistical test of seven main hypotheses about the relationship among broadcasting stations, market characteristics, and stations owners' characteristics, Dubin and Spitzer added demographic data about broadcasting markets to the data in the FCC survey, and conducted regressions and tests of statistical significance.

The study found that minority ownership has a distinct and significant impact on minority programming, even after controlling for the composition of minorities in the marketplace. Programming also responded to composition of minorities in the marketplace. The magnitude of the coefficients for black ownership on black programming and Hispanic ownership on Spanish programming are significantly larger than the coefficient for female ownership on female programming.[97] They also found, however, that a greater degree of female ownership led to increase in programming targeted to several other minority groups. Stations with female ownership are more likely to program primarily for females, but are also more likely to increase programming for blacks, Hispanics, Asians, and American Indians. The combined effects are similar in

[95] *See* Fife, M. The Impact of Minority Ownership on Broadcast Program Content: A Case Study of WGPR's Local News Content. Washington, D.C.: national Association of Broadcasters.
[96] Jeff Dubin & Matthew L. Spitzer, *Testing Minority Preferences in Broadcasting*, 68 S. CAL. L.REV. 843-74 (1995).
[97] *Id.* at 869-70.

magnitude to those for the minority group owners taken separately. Thus, their study shows that an increase in female ownership will have an overall impact on minority programming of a magnitude similar to what one would expect to get from, for instance, a larger degree of black ownership on black programming.[98]

The Congressional Research Service ("CRS") report presented many charts and tables relating owner's racial, ethnic, and gender characteristics, as well as the programming content of the owned broadcasting stations. Based on simple cross tabulations of ownership percentage and the percentage of programming for various target groups, the CRS reached several conclusions, for instance, station ownership, in part or in whole, by a particular type of minority, tended to increase the amount of programming targeted at that minority,[99] and station ownership by women produced a relatively small increase in programming for women when compared to the increase in programming that minority owners provide to minorities.[100]

Compelling or Substantial Interests

The court of *Lutheran Church* recognized that the FCC derived its authority from the public interest, and that the public's interest in creating program diversity is not a compelling government interest. Meanwhile, in *Metro Broadcasting*, the majority held that government may use race specific remedies to combat extremely recalcitrant societal discrimination, while the dissent espouses that belief that there are no appropriate

[98] *Id.*
[99] Congressional Research Service Report 21, *supra* note 28, at 42.
[100] *Id.* at 44.

circumstances in which government may use race specific remedies to address current societal discrimination no matter how egregious or debilitating.[101]

Hence, to sustain minority ownership policies under strict scrutiny, the FCC would have had to show its affirmative action efforts were narrowly tailored to achieve a compelling state interest.[102] By following *Fullilove*[103] rather than *Richmond*[104], the *Metro Broadcasting* Court was not required to address whether broadcast diversity reached the level of a compelling state interest.[105] The Court, however, avoided classification of the FCC policies as a remedy for past discrimination but instead justified them on the grounds of their future benefits.[106]

It is necessary here to look over the rationale which the majority of *Metro Broadcasting* applied. First, the majority found that the FCC minority policies served an important governmental objective--the promotion of broadcast program diversity. Justice Brennan asserted that diverse content would serve the needs and interests not only of minority groups, but all the viewing and listening audience. Second, the majority noted that as early as 1953, the Commission, in promulgating the first of its multiple ownership rules, had held that ownership and program diversity were inextricably linked. Third, the *Metro Broadcasting* court concluded that "strict scrutiny" standard applied in other race

[101] See Hammond *supra* note 16, at 1077.
[102] See City of Richmond v. J.A. Croson, Co., 488 U.S. at 507 (narrow tailing depended on whether government tried race-neutral alternatives and whether remedial goal was realistic); Fullilove v. Klutznick, 448 U.S. 448, 480 (1980) (congressional use of federal grant conditioned on racial criteria must be narrowly tailored to achieve constitutional objective).
[103] Fullilove v. Klutznick, 488 U.S. 448 (1980).
[104] City of Richmond v. J.A. Croson Co., 488 U.S. 469 (1989).
[105] The Supreme Court acknowledged that only two compelling state interests sufficient to support benign racial classification: a remedy for identified past discrimination, City of Richmond v. J.A. Croson, Co., 488 U.S. 469 (1989); and diversity in educational settings, Regents of Univ. of Cal. V. Bakke, 438 U.S. 265, 311-313 (1978).
[106] See Tabor, *supra* note 86, at 628.

classification cases (*City of Richmond v. J.A. Croson*)[107] was not applicable to the FCC's policies. Instead, race-conscious measures were permissible as long as they fostered important government objectives and were substantially linked to the achievement of those objectives. In other words, strict scrutiny should have required that a race classification can be determined to be necessary and narrowly tailored to achieve a compelling state interest.[108]

It is important to note that the FCC's minority and gender preference policies represent a unique form of affirmative action because they implicate not only the constitutional guarantees of equal protection under the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments, but also the free speech and press guarantees of the First Amendment. In other words, the FCC's minority and gender preference policies, unlike most affirmative action plans, have never been designed to ameliorate the effects of past discriminatory behavior against minorities or women. Instead, the policies have been predicated on a rationale of achieving broadcast content diversity, an objective that implicates the First Amendment issues not only for those directly affected by the policies, but also for the entire viewing and listening audience.[109]

It is apparent that recent deregulation trend of the overall telecommunications industry and the resulting trend media consolidation has led to a decline in the number of broadcast owners, threatening minority employment opportunities and diversity in the

[107] 488 U.S. 469 (1989).
[108] See Howard Kleiman, *Content Diversity and the FCC's Minority and Gender Licensing Policies*, 35 J. BROADCASTING & ELECTRONIC MEDIA 418, 419, n. 4 (1991).
[109] *Id.* at 421.

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broadcast industry.[110] The National Telecommunications and Information Administration's (NTIA) 1997-1998 survey of minority ownership of full power commercial radio and television stations found that 165 minority broadcasters own 337 of 11,524 commercial radio and television stations in the U.S. Minority commercial broadcast ownership showed a negligible increase of .1%, from 2.8 in 1997 to 2.9% in 1998, a net gain of 15 stations. This minority ownership numbers offer although minority ownership of stations increased by 15 last year, they has not kept pace with the developments with the industry as a whole. Minority ownership of commercial broadcast stations is at a lower level today than in 1994 and 1995. Minority broadcasters are finding it increasingly difficult to compete in the rapidly consolidating broadcast industry.

In this context, it is acknowledged that there is a compelling interest in remedying the past discrimination to increase diversity in broadcasting in the United States, given the portion of minority stations and persistent ingrained problems in portraying and representing viewpoints of minorities in the historical as well as societal contexts.

Conclusion

Gauger expressed a fundamental criticism of overreliance on market forces:

> A marketplace approach, which would cater more majoritarian views because of their profitability, would not operate to provide the sort of subtle and complicated diversity of the first amendment requires because less popular or controversial viewpoints might be excluded from programming by their sheer unprofitability.[111]

[110] See *Commerce Dept. Report Finds Minority Broadcast Ownership Remains At Record Low Levels*: http://www.ntia.doc.gov/ntiahome/press/minown98.htm.

[111] Gauger, T.G. *The Constitutionality of the FCC's Use of Race and Sex In the Granting of Broadcast Licenses*. 83 Northwestern L. REV. 665-728 (1989).

There is a current, as well as an historical nexus between majority culture, majority ownership, and negative portrayals of minorities. Therefore, these also indicate a nexus between majority-owned media and a discernible, palpable lack of diversity with respect to the portrayal of minority viewpoints and interests.[112] It is believed that the dissent of *Metro Broadcasting*, and the court of *Lutheran Church* made light of the empirical evidence, supporting the nexus between ownership and diversity as well as historic and current evidence of minority under-representation in broadcast ownership and misrepresentation in programming in broadcasting.

It is widely recognizable that the American media is becoming more concentrated and controlled by a handful of companies capable of affecting politics, culture, and economics. If courts continue to rely on the marketplace theory of regulation as in *Lutheran Church* and the dissent in *Metro Broadcasting* did, diversity, which can realize the Miltonian ideal of the marketplace of ideas, will be in more serious jeopardy, given the already consolidated media in the telecommunications area.

Minority preference policies containing racial preferences require subtle and complex normative, political, historical and psychological arguments. These are beyond the reach of the purpose and scope of this study. As discussed above, however, that the FCC's minority preference policies represent a unique form of affirmative action because they embrace not only the constitutional guarantees of equal protection under the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments, but also the free speech and press guarantees of the First Amendment. In this vein, even if the rules may violate the equal protection, they do

[112] Williams, Metro Broadcasting, Inc. v. FCC: *Regrouping in Singular Times*. 104 HARV. L. REV. at 535 (1990).

advance the First Amendment interests. Hence, the intermediate scrutiny will be a more appropriate test rather than strict scrutiny in deciding the constitutionality of the FCC's minority preference policies. Furthermore, courts should adopt not only historical and societal discrimination but also should not ignore empirical evidence as their rationale, which has already shown a positive correlation between minority ownership and program diversity in broadcasting.

As Justice Brennan in *Metro Broadcasting* asserted, providing the public with a wide variety of viewpoints over the airwaves is an important government interest, and the FCC's minority preference policy is a content-neutral regulation which requires less rigorous standard than strict scrutiny. If courts continue to apply strict scrutiny, however, more empirical studies providing corroborative evidence in a more rigorous setting, will also be needed so that courts will be able to rely on them without further questioning of the relevance and validity problem.

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Running Head: Media messages: African-American women and the thin standard

Media messages and the thin standard:

Are African-American women receiving the same messages?

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Abstract

A content analysis of three African-American and three Caucasian women's magazines (72 issues) for the year 1997 was conducted to ascertain if African-American women receive the same thinness-depicting messages characteristically observed in the Caucasian media. In addition, body measurements of models found in *Ebony* and *Ladies' Home Journal* from 1945-1998 were conducted. Results revealed African-American magazines place less emphasis on content dealing with body/shape/size. However, body measurements of African-American models follow similar thinness trends to Caucasian models.

INTRODUCTION

> We live in a culture where it is normal for us to feel that we should be thinner, prettier, firmer, younger, and in all ways better. We deprive our bodies of food and drag them to the gym to whip them into shape. We dedicate our time, energy and obsessive attention—in short, our lives—to trying to fix our bodies and make them right. We do everything except live in them (Hutchinson, 1994, p. 152).

It is believed the media has the power to frame society's perception of culture. Often times the framing of society occurs through strong, prominent stereotypes. When it comes to race in America, popular culture has usually contributed to the preferred characterization. Early characterizations of African-Americans introduced society to bumbling, kind, comical, and not so smart males, while the females were usually large, great cooks, and destined for a life of servitude (Artz, 1998).

Some of these earlier stereotypes, no doubt, have dissipated with the civil rights movement of the 1960s. However, some stereotypes remain strongly entrenched. A good deal of the work behind the media's power to frame perceptions has grown from research conducted by Gitlin (1980) on media coverage of the anti-Vietnam war movement. Gitlin found that one of the ways in which a group is marginalized is by discounting its accomplishments or delegitimizing a movement's views.

While the concepts of framing and the deviance have often been used in political context, the theory can be applied to the area of body image as well. Since stereotyping is a form of media framing, any alternative presentation to the stereotype or traditional

view can be looked upon as a form of deviance. For example, the African-American woman has often been stereotyped as a full-figured, larger woman, thus any image presented other than this would be viewed as deviant from the stereotypical norm.

Historically, body image perception has changed as culture has changed (Wooley, 1994). The introduction of film and other mass media established the concept of the "universal" body image prototype (Bordo, 1993). This universal code gave us the full-figured women of the 1950s and "Twiggy" in the 1960s. Magazine articles addressing the concept of dieting began to appear as early as 1955 and exploded to more than 70 percent by 1965 (Wooley, 1994). By 1970, anorexia nervosa had become a reported condition and several theoretical models were developed in an attempt to explain this phenomenon (Bordo, 1993).

There is no doubt that the last three decades have seen a shift towards an ever growing concern with physical attractiveness (Wagner & Banos, 1973; Silverstein, Perdue, Peterson, & Kelly, 1986; Wiseman, Gray, Mosimann, & Ahrens, 1992). Not surprisingly, the segment of society growing more dissatisfied with themselves is women.

There appears to be the universal belief that body image codes are geared more to women than men in society. According to Bordo (1993), "Contemporary women are in a situation where a constellation of social, economic, and psychological factors have combined to produce a generation of women who feel deeply flawed and not entitled to exist unless they transform themselves into worthy new selves" (p. 47). The Hollywood actor, Sylvester Stallone, was once quoted as saying he likes his women "anorexic." His then girlfriend, Cornelia Guest, eventually lost 24 pounds (Bordo, 1993). The thinning of

women also gave the post-feminist movement an image to assist them into entering the workforce, an image that made them look more like a man (Wooley, 1994).

Many of the body image studies have focused on media messages depicting standards of what is considered attractive. Although these studies have indeed shown media bias toward thinner messages to women than to men, the majority of these studies have been conducted on a primarily Caucasian population. It is important to understand the possible role ethnicity plays in the area of body image since more culturally diverse populations may differ in their perceptions and motivations of what is the ideal standard.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The role of women and how they are portrayed by the media has been of particular interest to researchers since the women's movement of the 1960s. The initial concern was that the media was not keeping pace with women's changing roles, instead focusing on traditional roles of the past (Wagner & Banos, 1973; Sexton & Haberman, 1974).

The concern with these changing roles has been with the physical and mental ramifications. As women have entered the work force and become more successful, they have become thinner. "Data on the relationship between physical attractiveness and mental health suggest that females who do not conform to the sex-role stereotype of physical beauty suffer debilitating effects from social and economic discrimination" (Zegman, 1983, p. 190).

Up to this point, a good deal of the information regarding the role of the media in perpetuating body image distortions (primarily for women) was anecdotal. In 1986, Silverstein, Perdue, Peterson, and Kelly found that the media contribute to promoting a thinner standard for females than males. Similar findings were observed by Wiseman, Gray, Mosimann, and Ahrens (1992).

By the early 1990s, research began to focus on how women compared themselves to the female images seen in the media (Myers & Biocca, 1992; Richins, 1991). These studies showed women mentally internalize these ideal images and strive to achieve them. Conflict may arise later, after the media exposure, when the ideal image becomes

more difficult to achieve. This conflict could evolve into a neurosis that manifests itself through disordered eating.

Lamb, Cassiday, and Priest (1993) suggested that if there was not such an emphasis on thinness in this culture, there would not be such large scale increases in eating disorders. Lamb et al. (1993) believed the cohort a woman is born into may be the variable that determines if an eating disorder develops. The results indicated all females in the study preferred to be thinner, but the younger group wanted to be significantly thinner than the older group.

In 1994, Stice, Shupak-Newberg, Shaw, and Stein examined the relationship between media exposure and eating disorder symptomatology. Their results supported the assertion that media portrayal of the thin standard increased body dissatisfaction and eating symptomatology.

Harrison and Cantor (1997) also conducted a study on the relationship between media consumption and eating disorders. However, they found different media exert different effects. The more a program depicted thinness messages the more likely a woman would strive for thinness and exhibit symptoms of disordered eating. Magazine reading, more than television, promoted this because of the abundance of food ads coupled with articles on how to achieve thinness. However, magazine reading produced less body dissatisfaction than television. This could possibly have been because magazines also offer potential solutions through weight loss tips, etc.

In 1997, *Psychology Today* conducted a nationwide body-image survey; 3452 women and 548 men responded. The participants were primarily college educated, Caucasian, in their early- to mid-thirties. Some of the responses were a true testament to

the importance of body image in the cultural mainstream. Fifteen percent of the women said they would sacrifice more than five years of their lives to weigh what they want. Sixty-two percent of 13-to-19-year-old women were dissatisfied with their weight, while 67 percent of women over 30 were unhappy with their weight. Among feminists, 32 percent were dissatisfied with their body compared to 49 percent of women with traditional views. However, feminists were less likely to resort to drastic weight loss measures such as purging.

As convincing as the previous studies have been in supporting the media promoted thin standard hypothesis for women, there is the possibility that researchers have been too quick to "lump" all women together. The previous studies have been conducted on a predominately Caucasian population. However, research on body image and weight concerns among African-American women is beginning to emerge. Interestingly, the results do not always correspond to what has been seen among Caucasian women, and any similar patterns may be attributed to other mediating circumstances.

Many studies have shown that African-American women have a different perspective of the ideal body image (Thomas & James, 1988; Desmond, Price, Hallinan, & Smith, 1989; Parker, Nichter, Nichter, Vuckovic, Sims, & Ritenbaugh, 1995). These studies found that African-American women more correctly identify their weight category, and they tend to identify ideal beauty in terms of personality characteristics, as opposed to Caucasian women whom often describe ideal beauty in terms of physical attributes.

Researchers have attempted to explain the different body image perspectives among African-American and Caucasian women in terms of cultural identity. Studies such as those conducted by Fordham (1993); Kelson, Kearney-Cooke, and Lansky (1990); Smith, Burlew, and Lundgren (1991); Rao and Overman (1984), and Harris (1995) all found that the more African-American women identified with black culture the less likely they were to strive for the dominant thinness ideal. Subsequently, any quest for thinness in this ethnic group was perceived as an attempt to break out of traditional African-American female roles, thus ascribing to the ideal prescribed by the dominant culture.

Similar findings were observed by Pumariega, Gustavson, Gustavson, Stone-Motes, and Ayers (1994) in a survey conducted among 600 *Essence* magazine readers on eating attitudes. Their survey revealed that African-American women had adopted similar attitudes toward body image, weight, and eating as typically seen in the Caucasian population. Many of the survey respondents attributed their views to ascribing to the white ideal of thinness as the means of upward mobility. The survey did find a negative correlation existed between the level of black identity and the preoccupation with thinness and food. The group that depicted the lowest level of black identity was the struggling middle-class group. Those members at the highest and lowest extremes of the socioeconomic ladder depicted the greatest level of black identity.

Although body image perceptions appear to differ between African-American and Caucasian women, there is evidence to suggest eating disorders among African-American women may be on the rise (Root, 1990). Eating disorders among Caucasian

women have been associated with upward mobility. Root pointed out that the central psychological themes seen in eating disorders include issues common to oppressed groups: pursuit of identity, power, specialness, validation, self-esteem, and respect. This may be why anorexia nervosa was not identified until 1970, after the feminist movement of the 1960s.

Traditionally, African-American women have been seen as protected from eating disorders because of their greater acceptance of larger body size and less emphasis on physical appearance. Root (1990) stated that African-American women are more susceptible to eating disorders, not because of an obsession to be thin, but because of the domination of the Caucasian culture.

Thompson (1994) asserted eating disorders among Caucasian women have revolved around gender socialization that encourages them to be passive and compliant. African-American women are socialized to be "assertive, self-directed, and active both publicly and within their families" (Thompson, 1994, p. 358). It is possible that encouraging African-American women to be thin not only enculturates them into the mainstream but assures the protection from further discrimination towards overweight people.

Styles (1980) corroborated the above by saying food for a black woman equated to her self concept. This may be why "thinness is not valued by middle- and older-aged black women" (p. 174). Eating food was a way of filling the empty space often left by an oppressive society. Styles also asserted that as long as African-American's attempt to ascribe to Western cultural ideals they will continue to be oppressed.

Although there is greater emphasis on achieving the ideal standard of thinness, society continues to get heavier and further away from the ideal (Beardsworth & Keil, 1996). Body image is a multidimensional concept; however, the dimensions that influence it are not equally distributed (Bordo, 1993). Thus, the debate on how strong a role the media plays continues.

The above studies have shown that, at times, African-American and Caucasian women have different perceptions of ideal body image, and the cultural drive that defines it is also different. Given that the major studies in the area of the media's role in contributing to body-image perceptions have focused on Caucasian women, generalizations about the potential role of the media in promoting a thin standard to all women can not yet be made. The perceptual body image differences between African-American and Caucasian women dictates the following research questions:

RQ1: Do African-American media promote the same thin standard messages to African-American women as has been promoted to Caucasian women by predominately Caucasian media?

RQ2: Do African-American media, over time, promote a model that is more curvaceous, less curvaceous, or the same curvaceousness as the models seen in Caucasian media?

METHODOLOGY

Operational plan and definitions

In order to answer RQ1 a content analysis of the most popular African-American and Caucasian women's magazines was conducted to evaluate any thinness-promoting messages. Magazines were chosen because they, more than television, provide an overabundance of food ads and articles, while at the same time informing women on how to control body shape and size (Harrison & Cantor, 1997). In this study, the top African-American magazines included: *Ebony*, *Essence*, and *Jet*. These magazines were chosen primarily because they cater specifically to African-American women, and they also have large circulations, 1.8 million, 1.0 million, and .9 million respectively (Famighetti, 1999; Simmons-Study of Media Markets, 1993; McDonough, 1995; Kelly, 1995).

As an update to the Silverstein et al. (1986) study, the same women's magazines used in their study were used in this one. Silverstein et al. chose the following magazines because 75 percent of their readers were women, and they also had high circulation numbers: *Woman's Day*, *Ladies' Home Journal (LHJ)*, and *Redbook*. These magazines were compared to the content in the African-American magazines. For the monthly magazines (*Redbook, LHJ, Ebony, Essence*) 12 issues from the year 1997 were analyzed. For the weekly magazine (*Jet*), 12 issues taken from the first week of each month of 1997 were analyzed. Since *Woman's Day* magazine is published 17 times a year, the first issue of each month of 1997 was used for the sample. In the event that the first issue of the month was not available, the very next available issue for the month was

used for the sample. This kept the sample consistent to 12 issues for each magazine for a total sample size of 72 issues.

The content analysis focused on advertisements and /or articles dealing with body shape/size, food, cooking, dieting, and alcohol. Prior to conducting the analysis, two coders (the researcher serving as one of the two) conducted a pilot test of Silverstein et al. (1986) operational definitions. The pilot test was conducted on seven issues of *Woman's Day* magazine. The pilot test revealed that further refinement of the operational definitions was needed in order to secure coded items could be place in only one category.

Advertisements were defined as any verbal or visual depiction of a product that included a prominently displayed brand name. The size or location of the ad in the magazine made no difference. Advertisements for weight loss products or devices to assist with altering body shape or size (i.e. diet pills, plastic surgery, mechanical figure enhancers) were classified under the category "body ads/articles" (see Appendix A for sample coding sheet and instructions). Also included in this category were articles pertaining to weight and dieting (i.e. "Lose weight in time for that new swimsuit").

Food ads (categorized under the "food ads" category) were analyzed according to the type of food: diet food, which referred to any low calorie or fat free product; fruits/vegetables; dairy, which included all ads for milk, yogurt, and cheese; sweets/snacks/fatty foods, which referred to ads for baked goods, chips, oils, margarine, butter, sour cream, frozen desserts, etc.; starches; and meats. Any food that was advertised as a low calorie/fat free item was coded as a diet food regardless of what other food subcategory it fit into (i.e. fat free hot dogs were coded under "diet food" even

though it was also a meat product). Each ad that contained multiple brand-name products were coded separately. Any recipes associated with these types of ads were NOT coded as part of a recipe collection (see below).

Articles that pertained to cooking ("Fifty ways to cook chicken"), dining ("New restaurant focuses on Southwestern cuisine") or recipe collections ("Favorite Recipes of the Rich and Famous") were categorized as "food articles." A recipe collection was defined as two or more recipes **not** associated with a brand-name product. All recipes in each magazine issue, regardless of whether they were part of a recipe collection, were counted. Among the total recipes, all recipes emphasizing they were low in calories or fat were counted for each issue. This provided the opportunity to assess the emphasis each publication placed on recipes that were geared toward changing body shape and/or size. Advertisements for alcoholic beverages were classified under "alcohol/ads."

Pre-testing of the initial operational definitions revealed that further refinement of the operational definitions was needed because reliability between coders was less than 70 percent. Once the definitions were further refined, an intercoder reliability test was conducted on 10 percent of the sample size. The researcher marked all ads and articles in seven magazine issues to be coded by each coder. Each coded the same ads and articles in the seven magazines for a total of 105 ads/articles and 185 recipes per individual coder.

Reliability was tested using Scott's pi (1955). A minimum reliability coefficient of .75 was deemed acceptable. The overall intercoder reliability was 100%. Intercoder reliability was also calculated using Scott's pi for each category and subcategory. The reliability for the body ads/articles category was 100%, food ads 94.9%, and food articles was 100% (See Appendix B).

In order to answer RQ2, body measurements were conducted on the female models in the magazines that have had the longest circulation. This was done in an effort to measure body image changes over time. In Silverstein et al. (1986), the chosen magazine for this component was *LHJ* because it had been around since the year 1900. The African-American magazine published for the longest period of time is *Ebony*, initially published in 1945.

The body measurements were based on ratios between certain body parts. The measurements, in accordance with Silverstein et al. (1986) original definitions, were defined as follows: the bust was the widest part between the shoulders and the waist, the waist was the narrowest measure between the bust and the hips, and the hips were the widest part of the body below the waist. A pilot test was conducted to test Silverstein's et al. operational definitions. The test was conducted on the 2000 *Victoria's Secret Swim Edition* catalogue. The pilot test revealed slight refinement of pictures qualifying for body measurements was needed. Specifically, the appropriate selection of pictures for measurement meant the model must be facing straight on or less than a 45 degree angle. The upper arms must be equal or less than a 45 degree angle from the body to prevent elongation of the waist; the thighs ideally should be together, however, a slight separation was acceptable and did not interfere with the hip measurement as long as the person was facing forward. The model must also be wearing some sort of form-fitting clothing such as a swimsuit, lingerie, leotards, or tight evening gowns that accentuated and enhanced the measurement of the bust, waist, and hips.

Since the Silverstein et al. evaluation of *LHJ* ended in 1981, this study measured the models every four years continuing from 1985 until 1997. *Ebony* magazine's models

were measured every four years beginning in 1946 until 1998. If fewer than 10 adequate photographs were found for either publication in a given year, issues of the next year or previous year were used until an adequate number was achieved. So, pictures that represented 1994 could have been acquired from 1993 and 1995. Even though the data sets were off by one year, it was deemed to be of little concern since measurement changes were being evaluated over time, not necessarily from year-to-year.

An intercoder reliability test was conducted on 10% of the sample size. Each coder conducted measurements on the same 17 models. The pictures were taken from a sample of *Ebony* and *LHJ* issues ranging from the 1940s to the 1990s. Reliability was tested using a two-tailed *t*-test to calculate the mean differences of the bust-to-waist (b/w) and waist-to-hip (w/h) ratios between the two coders, A and B (Hogg & Tanis, 1995). Reliability was tested at .05 significance ($|t| \leq 1.746$). The *t* value for (b/w) was 0.1488, and the *t*-value for (w/h) was -0.5278. This indicated that the differences between the measurements made by the two coders were statistically insignificant (See Appendix C).

RESULTS

RQ1: The results of the content analysis provided little support to indicate the African-American media are promoting the same thin standard messages to African-American women, thus RQ1 was not supported. In all categories, with the exception of alcohol ads, African-American women received fewer messages about dieting and eating than Caucasian women (see Figure 1).

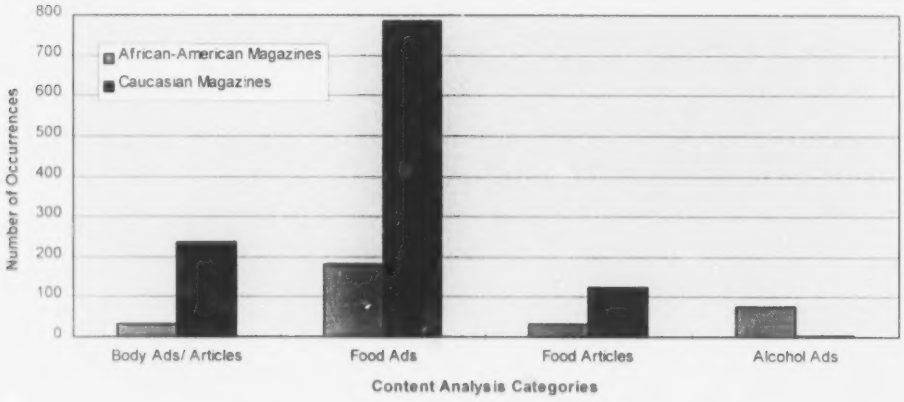


Figure 1. Comparison of the content of four categories between African-American women's magazines and Caucasian women's magazines.

At the same time, an examination of the subcategories revealed very similar trends. The ratio of ads in African-American to Caucasian women's magazines on weight loss or figure enhancing is 19:256. The ratios of food ad subcategories of African-American to Caucasian women's magazines is as follows: "diet foods," 7:201; "fruits/vegetables," 12:86; "dairy," 21:51; "sweets/snacks/fats/oils;" 55:235, "meats," 11:63; and "starch/grains," 40:148.

The African-American women's magazines also contained fewer total recipes for each month of 1997 compared to the Caucasian women's magazines (see Figure 2).

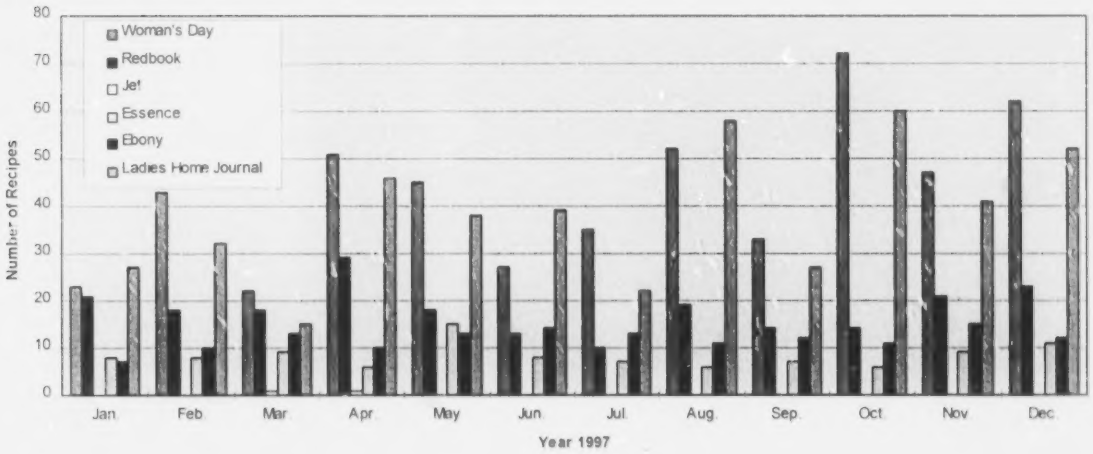


Figure 2. Comparison of the total recipes contained within six different publications (Woman's Day, Redbook, Jet, Ebony, Essence, Ladies' Home Journal)

Of the total recipes in all 72 issues, *Woman's Day* placed the greatest emphasis on recipes specifically low in fat and/or calories. None of the 72 issues placed a large emphasis on the low fat and/or low calorie recipes, but even with such little emphasis by all, the African-American magazines emphasized these types of recipes the least (see Table 1).

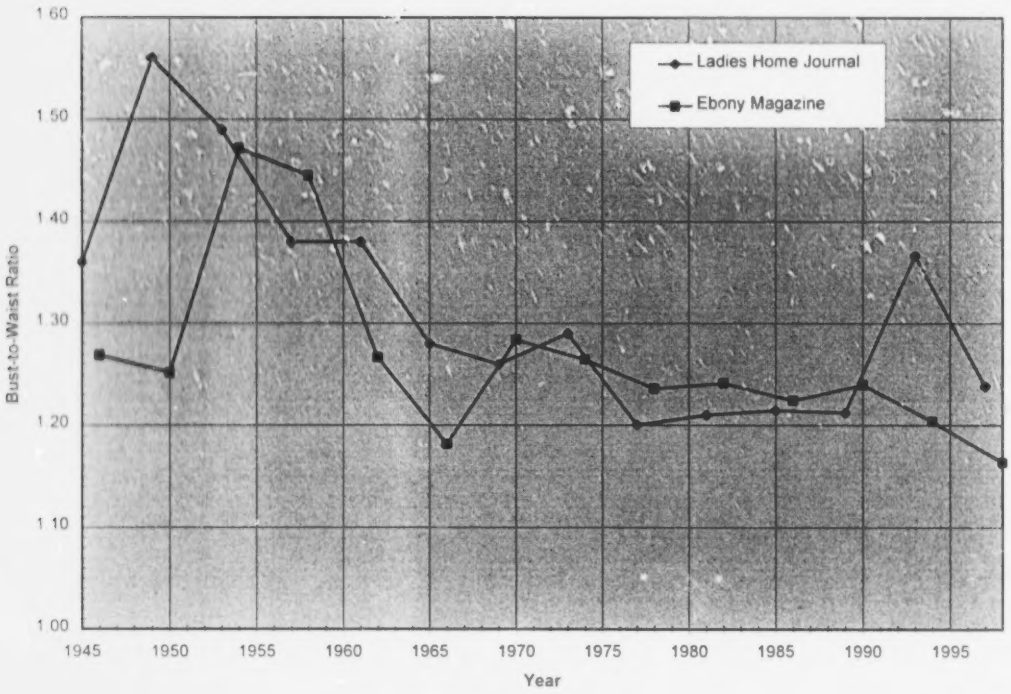
Table 1. Total low fat/low calorie recipes from Jan-Dec. of 1997 for Woman's Day, Redbook, Jet, Ebony, Essence, Ladies' Home Journal.

Month	Woman's Day	Redbook	Jet	Essence	Ebony	LHJ
Jan.	13	0	0	0	7	6
Feb.	12	1	0	0	0	3
March	5	0	0	0	0	0
April	6	0	0	0	0	9
May	12	0	0	0	0	5
June	11	0	0	0	0	7
July	11	0	0	0	0	3
Aug.	11	0	0	0	0	5
Sept.	21	0	0	0	0	4
Oct.	16	0	0	0	0	3
Nov.	8	0	0	0	0	8
Dec.	4	0	0	0	0	4
TOTALS:	130	1	0	0	7	57

As already mentioned, African-American women received fewer messages in all areas with the exception of alcohol advertisements. The number of alcohol ads in African-American women's to Caucasian women's magazines was 75:4.

RQ2: The results of the body measurements aspect of the study were reported in terms of the mean-bust-to-waist ratio (b/w) only for two reasons. One, as a result of the use of the waist measurement for both ratios, Silverstein et al. (1986) originally reported the results in terms of (b/w) because the results were not statistically independent. Two, although waist and hip measurements were done for this study, an accurate comparison between the two publications could not be made since the waist and hip measurement data collected by Silverstein et al. were not available. However, (b/w) measurements are sufficient enough to assess if models are trending toward a less curvaceous body type.

Figure 3 represents the mean (b/w) ratios of photographs sampled from *Ebony* and *LHJ* from 1945-1998. The two magazines, overall, appear to reflect similar body shape



trends.

Figure 3. Comparison of mean bust-to-waist ratios between Ebony and Ladies' Home Journal from 1945-1998. Note. LHJ data from 1945-1981 are from "The role of the mass media in promoting a thin standard of bodily attractiveness for women," by Silverstein, B., Perdue, L., Peterson, B., Kelly, E, 1986, Sex Roles, 14 (9/10), p.528. Copyright 1986 by Plenum Publishing Corporation. Data reprinted with permission.

During the early-to-mid 1940s, Caucasian models were more curvaceous than the African-American models. However, by the mid 1950s, both African-American and Caucasian models were at similar levels. This time period represented a slight drop for Caucasians but a dramatic 17.5 % rise for the African-American models.

The next major change for both came in the 1960s. African-American (b/w) dropped to a lower average during this time period than was observed among the Caucasians. In fact, 1966 was the most non-curvaceous year for the African-American models (ratio=1.182). The overall average (b/w) for African-Americans during the 1960s was 1.2. This was lower than the Caucasian average of 1.3 for the same time period.

By 1970, African-American models had experienced an 8% increase in (b/w). Caucasian models did not begin to trend upward until the mid 1970s. Both groups began to trend downward once again after 1974. The change in (b/w) for Caucasians was more dramatic, 7.5%, than what occurred for the African-American model.

Ratios remained stable until the mid-1990s. Interestingly, the (b/w) for Caucasians took a rather dramatic jump towards a more curvaceous body type in 1993. The (b/w) increased 11.3%, however, four years later the (b/w) dropped 10% to a more non-curvaceous standard. Even after factoring in the 1993 jump, the average (b/w) for both groups has been less than 1.3 since 1965. This means a 44-year-old woman has been exposed to a non-curvaceous standard since 11 years of age.

DISCUSSION

This study attempted to answer two questions. The first question asked if African-American women are receiving the same thinness-depicting messages from African-American media as has been characteristically seen by Caucasian dominated media toward Caucasian women. The data presented in the content analysis portion of the study clearly did not support this assertion.

In three of four categories: body ads/articles, food ads, food articles, and alcohol ads, African-American women are receiving fewer messages about eating, dieting, and body shaping than Caucasian women. The alcohol category was the one area African-American women are receiving more messages. Silverstein et al. (1986) found alcohol ads were in abundance in men's to women's magazines (624:19).

Although alcohol ads are not as abundant in African-American women's magazines as in the men's magazines, there is still an obvious disparity when compared to Caucasian women's magazines. One of the explanations for the disparity could be that the African-American magazines in this study also have a relatively high male readership. Men's magazines have been found to have greater emphasis on alcohol advertisements.

Silverstein et al. (1986) defined a women's magazine as having at least 75% female readership. The female readership for *Ebony, Essence*, and *Jet* is 62%, 70%, and 65% respectively. Alcohol ads were highest in *Ebony*, which also has the highest male readership. *Jet* magazine also has a high male readership, but alcohol ads were low. In fact, *Jet* magazine contains very few ads. *Jet* is produced by Johnson Publishing, the same publisher of *Ebony* magazine. A number of articles in *Jet* are taken from *Ebony*

magazine, so the need for advertising is probably not as crucial since it is supported by its parent subscription *Ebony*. It is also possible that the Caucasian women's magazines in this study may place restrictions on alcohol advertising. African-American leaders have accused alcohol advertisers of targeting African-Americans with their excessive ads. The publisher of *Ebony* found these attacks condescending, pointing out that African-American consumers are capable of making responsible purchasing decisions (McDonough, 1995).

The fact that food, dieting, and body shaping ads and articles were in low abundance in African-American women's magazines is not entirely a surprise. Desmond et al., (1989) discovered in their study that African-American women did not look at magazines as a leading source for weight control information. Caucasians on the other hand rated magazines as the number two source for weight control information.

The few articles on weight loss found in African-American women's magazines approached weight loss in terms of health benefits rather than something to do to look thinner. Health issues, such as prevention of diabetes or hypertension, both prevalent in the African-American population, were the emphasis. Parker et al. (1995) found that 42% of the African-American women in their study believed dieting to be harmful. This could explain why little emphasis is placed on dieting in African-American women's magazines, and when dieting is discussed, the health benefits are emphasized. Interestingly, early ads in *Ebony* magazine that placed any emphasis on body shaping devices used Caucasian cartoon type caricatures in the ads.

The lack of emphasis on food and cooking in African-American women's magazines may be in an effort to break some of the stereotypes. Thompson (1994) found

African-American women from working class homes were more likely to believe that providing enough food and being heavier were signs of prosperity. However, once African-American families moved into the middle-class arena, thinness was the sign of prosperity. Styles (1980) corroborated this by stating food for an African-American women equated to her self-concept. This lead to the birth of soul food and may be the reason why thinness is not valued by the middle- and older-aged African-American women.

For Caucasian women the news is not good. Not only are Caucasian women still bombarded with food and dieting messages, but in some areas the messages are growing. Silverstein et al. (1986) counted 63 ads for some kind of diet food in 48 issues. This study counted 201 diet food ads in 36 issues. The other area of growth is in the body ads and articles category. Silverstein et al. counted 96; this study counted 236 a decade later.

The second question addresses whether models in African-American magazines, over time, were more curvaceous, less curvaceous or the same degree of curvaceousness as models in Caucasian women's magazines.

The data collected from body measurements made on models in *Ebony* and *LHJ* indicate very similar trends when it came to body shape type. Although studies have indicated that African-Americans are more tolerant of larger more curvaceous body types (Thomas & James, 1988; Desmond, Price, Hallinan, & Smith, 1989; Parker, Nichter, Nichter, Vukovic, Sims, & Ritenbaugh, 1995), the models found in African-American magazines are more likely to depict thinner, less curvaceous body shapes.

The African-American women's magazines appear to promote an alternative or deviant view of the African-American woman from that of the traditional, full-figured woman to the thinner, less curvaceous image.

Wooley (1994) stated the thinning of women was a post-feminist's opportunity to develop an image that would allow them to enter the workforce; an image that made women look more like men. Looking more like a man was synonymous with being taken seriously and gaining opportunities. Silverstein et al. (1986) observed that the biggest changes in (b/w) occurred during or shortly after women's movements. The first drop was observed in the 1920s when women gained the right to vote, and the second was seen during the 1960s during the second women's movement.

The 1960s has been the most non-curvaceous time period for African-American women. The 1960s was not only the time period of the second women's movement, but also the civil rights movement. The less curvaceous figures of the African-American woman may represent a form of emancipation for African-American women seeking opportunity in a white-male-dominated society. The 1940s was another non-curvaceous time period for African-American women, while the Caucasian model was much more curvaceous.

Less curvaceous figures may also be a form of passing. Passing was a term Fordham (1993) used in a field study of African-American adolescents that involves presenting oneself as something one is not. African-American women not only have to proscribe to the image of maleness, but also the image depicted by the mainstream middle-class-Caucasian female. This is a testament to how powerful thinness-promoting messages are.

An interesting turn in (b/w) on the Caucasian side was observed in 1993. The (b/w) jumped 11.5% meaning it was fashionable to be curvaceous. The (b/w) approached the Marilyn Monroe era of the 1950s. This time period introduced the public to supermodels Cindy Crawford, Linda Evangelista, Claudia Schiffer, and Naomi Campbell, all of whom had more of the classic hourglass shape with such dimensions as 36-24-36. Their reign was short lived, however, because fours years later (b/w) dropped 10% and "waif" models such as Kate Moss were setting the standard. This change may be the result of ageism. Society is not only obsessed with thinness but with youth as well. The supermodels of 1993, as they approach their thirties, have past the ideal age to set the standard of beauty for the young.

The current suspicion is that (b/w) are approaching the all time low level observed in the 1920s by Silverstein et al. (1986). Intercoder pretesting using the *Victoria Secret Swim Edition* catalogue revealed a (b/w) of 1.17. This level is very close to the 1920s, which to this date remains the lowest (b/w) level in the 20th century.

Future research in this area may evaluate other fashion trend magazines. This study was a more conservative evaluation. Other fashion-focused media may provide a clearer picture as to where the trends are heading. Since this study focuses primarily on the media messages, further research may examine how individuals, particularly the African-American woman, process, interpret, and integrate the messages. It is only through such research that society can being to comprehend media effects from the African-American perspective, and eventually extend into the perspective of other ethnic groups.

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Appendix A: Sample Coding Sheets and Instructions

Content Analysis Coding Sheet

Each issue of the six magazines: *Ebony, Essence, Jet, Woman's Day, Ladies' Home Journal,* and *Redbook* will have its own coding sheet so comparisons can be made between African-American and Caucasian publications, as well as among the individual magazines themselves.

Magazine Name: _____ Magazine Issue: _____

A. BODY ADS category:
   1. ads (weight loss, figure enhancers) _____
   2. articles dealing with shape/size _____

B. FOOD ADS category
   1. diet foods (low calorie, fat free) _____
   2. fruits/vegetables _____
   3. dairy _____
   4. sweets/snacks/fats/oils _____
   5. meats _____
   6. starch _____

C. FOOD ARTICLES category
   1. articles _____
   2. dining _____
   3. recipe collection _____
      total recipes _____
      low cal/low fat recipes _____

D. ALCOHOL ADS category
   1. ads for alcoholic beverages _____

Content Analysis Coder Instruction Sheet

Code all ads and articles in each magazine that contain the applicable categories described below. An ad is any verbal or visual communication that prominently displays or describes a name-brand product. **All** ads will be considered regardless of size; this will include small ads found in the back of the magazines. For the magazines published monthly, examine each of the 12 issues for the year 1997. For the magazines published weekly, examine the first week of each month for the year 1997. Complete one sheet for **each** magazine and issue analyzed.

A. BODY ADS/ARTICLES category: will include all ads and articles that deal with products or devices to assist with altering body shape and size for instance: diet pills, plastic surgery, mechanical figure enhancers, exercise equipment, articles pertaining to weight and dieting such as "Lose five pounds in five days!"

B. FOOD ADS category: will include all ads pertaining to specific foods. Each food will be placed according to the type of food it is. There are six food subcategories: **diet food** which refers to **any** low calorie or fat free product, **fruits** and **vegetables**, **dairy** which includes milk ,yogurt, and cheese, **sweets/snacks/fatty foods** which refers to ads for baked goods, chips, oils, margarine, butter, sour cream, cream cheese, ice cream and other frozen desserts, etc., and **meats.** Any food that is advertised as a low calorie/fat free item will be coded as a diet food regardless of what other food subcategory it would fit into i.e. fat free hot dogs would be coded under "diet food" even though it is a meat product. Each brand-name item in an ad containing multiple brand-name items will be coded separately. Any recipes associated with this type of an ad will **NOT** be coded as part of a recipe collection (see below).

C. FOOD ARTICLES category: will include all articles pertaining to **cooking** "Fifty ways to cook chicken," **dining** "New restaurant focuses on Southwestern cuisine," and **recipe collection** "Recipes of the South." A recipe collection may include 2 or more recipes and is not associated with any name-brand product.

D. ALCOHOL ADS category: will include any ads with the **primary** purpose of selling alcoholic beverages.

Body Measurements Coding Sheet

Magazine Name:

Time Period:

Coder Name:

Sample #1	Sample #2	Sample #3	Sample #4	Sample #5
bust =	bust =	bust =	bust =	bust =
waist =	waist =	waist =	waist =	waist =
hips =	hips =	hips =	hips =	hips =
b/w ratio =	b/w ratio =	b/w ratio =	b/w ratio =	b/w ratio =
w/h ratio =	w/h ratio =	w/h ratio =	w/h ratio =	w/h ratio =

Sample #6	Sample #7	Sample #8	Sample #9	Sample #10
bust =	bust =	bust =	bust =	bust =
waist =	waist =	waist =	waist =	waist =
hips =	hips =	hips =	hips =	hips =
b/w ratio =	b/w ratio =	b/w ratio =	b/w ratio =	b/w ratio =
w/h ratio =	w/h ratio =	w/h ratio =	w/h ratio =	w/h ratio =

Sample #11	Sample #12	Sample #13	Sample #14
bust =	bust =	bust =	bust =
waist =	waist =	waist =	waist =
hips =	hips =	hips =	hips =
b/w ratio =	b/w ratio =	b/w ratio =	b/w ratio =
w/h ratio =	w/h ratio =	w/h ratio =	w/h ratio =

Mean
b/w ratio =
Mean
w/h ratio =

Body Measurements Instruction Sheet

For this portion of the study, two magazines, *LHJ* and *Ebony*, will be used. All pictures of female models used must be 3 inches or greater in size. For *LHJ*, pictures of the female models will be evaluated every four years beginning in 1985-1997. At least 10 pictures will be evaluated. If there is not an adequate sample in the year, the previous year or the next years issues may be used (i.e. the sample for 1985 could include pictures from 1984 or 1986). For *Ebony*, female models will be evaluated every four years beginning in 1946-1998. The above rules apply here as well. A separate coding sheet will be used for each magazine issue.

Appropriate selection of pictures will be based on the following:

1. The person must be facing straight on or less than 45 degrees (quarter turn)
2. Upper arms must be equal or less than 45 degree angle from the body
3. Thighs must be together, but a slight separation of the legs is acceptable as long as the model is facing straight on.
4. The size of the picture must be 3 inches tall or greater
5. The model must be wearing a swimsuit, underwear, or any form fitting clothing i.e. leotards or tight evening gowns that accentuate the bust, waist, and hips.

Definitions of measurements:

1. bust = widest part between the shoulders and waist
2. waist = narrowest measure between bust and hips
3. hips = widest part of the body below the waist

Appendix B: Calculation of Intercoder Reliability for Content Analysis

Overall Category

Coder: Laura Collier

Coder: Brian Collier

Categories	Body Ads/Articles	Food Ads	Food Articles	Alcohol Ads	Marginal Total
Body Ads/Articles	7	0	0	0	7
Food Ads	0	68	0	0	68
Food Articles	0	0	10	0	10
Alcohol Ads	0	0	0	20	20
Marginal Total	7	68	10	20	105

(Note: see Wimmer & Dominck,(5th ed.), p. 129 for calculation of % expected and % observed agreement)

Scott's pi index for intercoder reliability,

$$pi = \frac{\%\ observed\ agreement - \%\ expected\ agreement}{1 - \%\ expected\ agreement}$$

Observed Agreement = 1.00

Expected Agreement = 0.4927

Scott' pi for intercoder reliability = 100%

Body Ads/Articles Category

Coder: Laura Collier

Coder:

Brian Collier

Categories	Body Ads	Body Articles	Marginal Totals
Body Ads	6	0	6
Body Articles	0	1	1
Marginal Totals	6	1	7

(Note: see Wimmer & Dominck,(5th ed.), p. 129 for calculation of % expected and % observed agreement)

Scott's pi index for intercoder reliability,

$$pi = \frac{\%\ observed\ agreement - \%\ expected\ agreement}{1 - \%\ expected\ agreement}$$

Observed Agreement = 1.00

Expected Agreement = 0.053

Scott' pi for intercoder reliability = 100%

Food Ads Category

Coder: Laura Collier

Coder: Brian Collier	Categories	Diet	Fruits/ Veg.	Dairy	Sweets/ Fats	Meats	Starch/ Grains	Marginal Totals
	Diet	13	0	0	2	1	0	16
	Fruits/ Veg.	0	10	0	0	0	0	10
	Dairy	0	0	6	0	0	0	6
	Sweets/ Fats	0	0	0	18	0	0	18
	Meats	0	0	0	0	5	0	5
	Starch/ Grains	0	0	0	0	0	13	13
	Marginal Totals	13	10	6	20	6	13	68

(Note: see Wimmer & Dominck,(5th ed.), p. 129 for calculation of % expected and % observed agreement)

Scott's pi index for intercoder reliability,

$$pi = \frac{\%\ observed\ agreement - \%\ expected\ agreement}{1 - \%\ expected\ agreement}$$

Observed Agreement = 0.956

Expected Agreement = 0.133

Scott' pi for intercoder reliability = 94.9%

Food Articles Category

Coder: Laura Collier

Coder: Brian Collier	Categories	Articles	Dining	Recipes	Marginal Totals
	Articles	4	0	0	4
	Dining	0	0	0	0
	Recipes	0	0	6	6
	Marginal Totals	4	0	6	10

(Note: see Wimmer & Dominck,(5th ed.), p. 129 for calculation of % expected and % observed agreement)

Scott's pi index for intercoder reliability,

$$pi = \frac{\%\ observed\ agreement - \%\ expected\ agreement}{1 - \%\ expected\ agreement}$$

Observed Agreement = 1.00

Expected Agreement = 0.052

Scott' pi for intercoder reliability = 100%

Appendix C: Calculation of Intercoder Reliability for Body Measurements

Body Measurements Data - Coder A

Magazine Name: 17 numbered sample pictures taken from Ebony Magazine and Ladies' Home Journal ranging from the '40s to the '90s.

Coder A: Brian Collier

Sample #1	Sample #2	Sample #3	Sample #4	Sample #5
bust = 1.281	bust = 1.750	bust = 1.750	bust = 1.875	bust = 1.469
waist = 1.094	waist = 1.781	waist = 1.562	waist = 1.562	waist = 1.00
hips = 1.625	hips = 2.344	hips = 2.281	hips = 2.281	hips = 1.469
b/w ratio = 2.656	b/w ratio = 0.983	b/w ratio = 1.120	b/w ratio = 1.200	b/w ratio = 1.470
w/h ratio = 0.673	w/h ratio = 0.760	w/h ratio = 0.685	w/h ratio = 0.685	w/h ratio = 0.681
Sample #6	Sample #7	Sample #8	Sample #9	Sample #10
bust = 2.256	bust = 1.969	bust = 2.250	bust = 1.500	bust = 1.00
waist = 2.219	waist = 1.687	waist = 1.781	waist = 1.250	waist = 0.875
hips = 3.437	hips = 2.187	hips = 2.375	hips = 1.625	hips = 1.406
b/w ratio = 1.197	b/w ratio = 1.167	b/w ratio = 1.263	b/w ratio = 1.200	b/w ratio = 1.143
w/h ratio = 0.646	w/h ratio = 0.771	w/h ratio = 0.750	w/h ratio = 0.770	w/h ratio = 0.622
Sample #11	Sample #12	Sample #13	Sample #14	Sample #15
bust = 0.967	bust = 1.313	bust = 1.500	bust = 1.00	bust = 21.5
waist = 0.687	waist = 1.250	waist = 1.313	waist = 0.875	waist = 16.5
hips = 1.063	hips = 1.875	hips = 1.750	hips = 1.313	hips = 25.0
b/w ratio = 1.410	b/w ratio = 1.050	b/w ratio = 1.142	b/w ratio = 1.143	b/w ratio = 1.303
w/h ratio = 0.646	w/h ratio = 0.666	w/h ratio = 0.750	w/h ratio = 0.666	w/h ratio = 0.660
Sample #16	Sample #17	Mean b/w ratio =	1.1795	
bust = 30.0	bust = 13.0			
waist = 26.5	waist = 12.5	Mean w/h ratio =	0.7129	
hips = 38.5	hips = 17.5			
b/w ratio = 1.132	b/w ratio = 0.960			
w/h ratio = 0.688	w/h ratio = 1.00			

Body Measurements Data - Coder B

Magazine Name: 17 numbered sample pictures taken from Ebony Magazine and Ladies' Home Journal ranging from the '40s to the '90s.

Coder B: Laura Collier

Sample #1	Sample #2	Sample #3	Sample #4	Sample #5
bust = 34	bust = 44	bust = 44	bust = 46	bust = 38
waist = 29	waist = 46	waist = 40.5	waist = 40	waist = 27
hips = 41	hips = 61	hips = 58	hips = 58	hips = 41
b/w ratio = 1.172	b/w ratio = 0.956	b/w ratio = 1.086	b/w ratio = 1.150	b/w ratio = 1.407
w/h ratio = 0.707	w/h ratio = 0.754	w/h ratio = 0.698	w/h ratio = 0.689	w/h ratio = 0.658
Sample #6	Sample #7	Sample #8	Sample #9	Sample #10
bust = 66.5	bust = 49	bust = 59	bust = 39	bust = 23
waist = 57	waist = 42	waist = 45	waist = 32	waist = 21
hips = 87	hips = 59	hips = 59	hips = 44	hips = 34
b/w ratio = 1.166	b/w ratio = 1.166	b/w ratio = 1.311	b/w ratio = 1.219	b/w ratio = 1.095
w/h ratio = 0.655	w/h ratio = 0.711	w/h ratio = 0.760	w/h ratio = 0.720	w/h ratio = 0.618
Sample #11	Sample #12	Sample #13	Sample #14	Sample #15
bust = 24	bust = 35	bust = 41	bust = 25.5	bust = 22.0
waist = 17	waist = 32	waist = 34	waist = 23	waist = 17.0
hips = 27	hips = 47.5	hips = 45	hips = 33	hips =25.0
b/w ratio = 1.411	b/w ratio = 1.093	b/w ratio = 1.205	b/w ratio = 1.108	b/w ratio = 1.294
w/h ratio = 0.629	w/h ratio = 0.673	w/h ratio = 0.750	w/h ratio = 0.696	w/h ratio = 0.680
Sample #16	Sample #17	Mean b/w ratio =	1.1828	
bust = 32.0	bust = 14.0			
waist = 27.0	waist = 13.0	Mean w/h ratio =	0.6996	
hips = 38.0	hips = 17.0			
b/w ratio = 1.185	b/w ratio = 1.077			
w/h ratio = 0.710	w/h ratio = 0.765			

Calculation of Statistics for Intercoder Reliability

The statistical test for intercoder reliability calculated the mean of the differences of the bust-to-waist (b/w), and waist-to-hip (w/h), ratios between two different coders, A and B. Let W be the difference in bust-to-waist ratio between Coder A and Coder B:

W = Coder A b/w ratio - Coder B b/w ratio

The statistical hypothesis to be tested then is whether $\mu_W = 0$, or

H_0: $\mu_W = 0$ against H_1: $\mu_W \neq 0$

The test statistic and critical region that have an $\alpha = 0.05$ significance level for the 17 measurements are given by

$$|t| = \frac{|\bar{w} - 0.0|}{s_w/\sqrt{n}} \geq t_{0.05}(16) = 1.746$$

From the measured data, $\bar{w} = 0.00144$ and $s_w = 0.03976$. Thus the observed value of the test statistic is

$$|t| = \frac{|0.00144 - 0.0|}{0.03976/\sqrt{17}} = |0.1488| < 1.746$$

Since $|0.1488| < 1.746$, the null hypothesis is not rejected.

The same line of reasoning is used for calculating the intercoder reliability of the waist-to-hip ratios. For the waist-to-hip ratio measurements, $\bar{w} = -0.00350$ and $s_w = 0.02737$. Thus the observed value of the test statistic is

$$|t| = \frac{|-0.00350 - 0.0|}{0.02737/\sqrt{17}} = |-0.5278| < 1.746$$

Since $|-0.5278| < 1.771$, again the null hypothesis is not rejected.

Appendix D: Sample Photographs from Ebony Magazine

MAC

What a difference a channel makes:

Commercial images in general market v.

Spanish-language television

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July, 2000

What a difference a channel makes:

Commercial images in general market v.

Spanish-language television

ABSTRACT

Analysis of prime time commercials on NBC and Univision revealed the occurrence of significantly fewer commercials on Univision as well as significantly more inventory devoted to public service announcements. Commercials on the networks were also found to focus on different products and services. Roles of primary characters on NBC revealed a strong professional male presence on the general market network, contrasted with the prevalence of female characters on Univision. Character portrayals on both NBC and Univision presented role inequities between men and women, with women more frequently cast in parental or domestic roles.

What a difference a channel makes:
Commercial images in general market v.
Spanish-language television

Introduction

Hispanics are the second largest and fastest growing ethnic group in the U.S. The Census Bureau estimates that there are more than 31 million Hispanics in the United States, comprising 11.6% of the total U.S. population. The Hispanic population is projected to surpass the African American population this century. Hispanic buying power is estimated at $350 billion (Fest, 1998), growing triple the rate of inflation since 1990 (Charlesworth & Hudes, 1997). The size and rapid growth of the Hispanic population has made them a lucrative target for U.S. marketers. A review of the advertising and communication literature reveals, however, that relatively few studies have focused on Hispanics or Spanish-language media. This paper attempts to address this void by comparing gender portrayal in simultaneous broadcasts of U.S. Hispanic television advertising as represented on the Univision network to U.S. general market advertising as seen on NBC. Through systematic, direct comparison, a more complete picture of commercial content in U.S. general market and Hispanic media can be drawn.

Review of the Literature

Theoretical Framework

Cultivation theory suggests that over time, people who are exposed to a particular view of the world on television, begin to accept this world as reality (Gerbner, 1998). Some researchers have described advertising as a mirror that reflects the modern world (Stern, 1994) while passing on values to the next generation (Butler & Paisley, 1980). The depiction of women in overtly sexual and submissively dependent roles in advertising has been criticized for perpetuating negative stereotypes (Bretl & Cantor, 1988), creating a false view of reality and even contributing to more serious social problems including sexual harassment, violence against women and eating disorders (Lavine, Sweeney & Wagner, 1999).

While only a few studies exist describing the content of Spanish-language television commercials (Armstrong & Kendrick, 1999), the communication literature contains an abundance of studies documenting the content of general market television commercials (for example, Courtney & Lockeretz, 1971, Dominick & Rausch, 1972; McArthur & Resko, 1975). Traditionally gender portrayal studies have focused on U.S. advertising but more recently researchers have examined advertising in foreign countries such as Britain (Furnham & Bitar, 1993, Japan (Sengupta, 1996) and Kenya (Mwagni, 1996). A few studies have examined gender depiction across cultures by comparing U.S. advertising to that of foreign countries (Gilly, 1986, Wiles, Wiles & Tjernlund, 1996; Browne, 1998). The present study, however, attempts to compare gender role portrayal across cultures within the same country by examining and comparing U.S. Hispanic and general market television advertising.

Spanish-language Media

Though the Hispanic market is large and growing, advertising to Hispanics via Spanish-language media is relatively small, with none of the major advertisers reporting to have allocated more than 4% of their total ad budget to specifically reach Hispanic consumer (Fest, 1997). In 1998 approximately $1.7 billion was spent on Hispanic-oriented media advertising (Zbar , 1999) or about 1% of the total U.S. ad spending (Gottesman, 1999), far less than the $7 billion which would be spent if ad dollars were allocated in proportion to the U.S. Hispanic population (Fest, 1997).

So why are major advertisers under-spending against the growing and profitable Hispanic market? Do they believe that no one is watching Spanish-language media? Statistics suggest that such a perception is misguided. Spanish-language television is a vital information link for U.S. Hispanics (Subervi-Velez, 1994). It not only offers entertainment, cultural events, politics and news about mainstream America, but also provides information about other Spanish-speaking countries around the world (Valdes & Seone, 1995). According to Nielsen Media Research, Univision is the dominant Spanish-language network, controlling 77 percent of Hispanic viewing

and penetrates 90 percent of Hispanic households (Avila, 1997). . Univision draws more viewers each evening than any station other than the affiliates of the four major networks (Fest, 1997), and according to the Nielsen Hispanic Television Index (1993), the major networks severely under-deliver Hispanic viewers. But despite these rating numbers many advertisers still do not include Spanish-language media on their media buys. When they do, they often use the same creative executions produced for the general market and simply dub over the video with Spanish voices (Webster, 1997).

Hispanic Culture

Because of the unique historical, cultural and demographic differences of the Hispanic population compared to the general U.S., the Hispanic market has been described as a "country within a country" (Valdes & Seone, 1995). Hispanics, in general, are family-oriented and traditional in terms of family roles and gender identity (Marin & Marin, 1991). Hispanic families are larger than Anglo families and Hispanics have high fertility rates (Bean, Stephen & Opitz., 1985). Hispanics place value on the primacy of the family, respect, male dominance and the subordination of younger to older persons (Pavich, 1986). It is not unusual for three generations of Hispanics to live in one household (Sanchez, 1992) with the older generations being respected and honored. Women are the driving force in Hispanic families, both encouraging their husbands to achieve a higher level of socio-economic status as well as keeping the Hispanic culture alive in the home (Valdes & Seone, 1995).

Because U.S. Hispanics share in two languages and cultures, they divide their viewing between general market and Spanish-language media. Research shows that "Spanish-language-dominant" and "Spanish-language-preferred" Hispanics tend to primarily use Spanish -language media (Valdes & Seone, 1995). While most Hispanics say they prefer ads in Spanish (Koslow, Shamdasani & Touchstone, 1995), those who do not speak Spanish as their primary language indicate that exclusive use of Spanish may arouse their insecurities about language usage. A 1997 survey among Hispanic women in northern California reported that 46 percent of

respondents had been influenced by Spanish-language television versus only 23 percent by English language TV commercials ("Communicating, 1997) and they were more likely to believe what they viewed on Spanish-language television. Roslow and Nichols (1996) found that Hispanic consumers had a stronger degree of purchase intent for products advertised on Spanish-language commercials and in Spanish-language programs as compared to similar commercials in English. Furthermore the relationship was stronger for females than for males.

Studies have found that Hispanics prefer ads that reflect their traditional culture (Sanchez, 1992). They do not like ads that are simply dubbed into Spanish (Valdes & Seone, 1995). Research suggests that Hispanic consumers prefer to see women in commercials in traditional roles (Sanchez, 1992). A study conducted for the California Milk Processor Board (Maso-Fleischman, 1996) showed that an advertising campaign featuring mothers and grandmothers in their kitchen cooking with milk and preparing wholesome meals for their families was very well received among Hispanic consumers. The image of a traditional mother showing love for her family through cooking was consistent with Hispanic beliefs about the role of women and motherhood (Valdes & Seone, 1995). According to the study, Hispanic women take pride in caring for their families and unlike the modern woman who is often portrayed in general market TV ads outside the home, Hispanic women want to see themselves in the kitchen (Maso-Fleischman, 1996).

Other research on Hispanic consumers found that they are less likely than Anglos to use coupons (Green, 1997) and more likely to buy brand name packaged goods (Engel, Warshaw & Kinnear, 1987). Webster (1993) found that bilingual Hispanics differed from English-speaking Hispanics when making purchasing decisions and with respect to the media they identified with. Spanish-language Hispanics were influenced more by radio, billboards and family members while English-language Hispanics were influenced more by magazine, brochures, and Yellow Pages.

Only one study can be found which describes the images and portrayal of gender in U.S. Spanish-language television advertisements (Armstrong & Kendrick, 1999). The study analyzed

162 prime-time commercials from a Spanish-language television affiliate in a major U.S. market and found that women are stereotypically portrayed in Spanish-language television commercials. The researchers suggested that stereotyping seemed to be at the same degree as found in general market U.S. commercials according to the literature and many of the ads were "re-treads" of existing general market ads which had been simply been translated into Spanish. The study also analyzed gender role portrayal in Spanish-language television promotional announcements and found them to contain more sexual images and sexually clad women than the commercials.

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to offer analysis of the manifest content of commercials run during simultaneous broadcasts of a general market television station and a Spanish-language television station in the same geographic market. Specifically, the study was designed to:

--Record number of commercials, commercial length and type, setting, language used, use of male or female announcers, sexual content and contact

--Describe the portrayal of characters appearing in the commercials, including age, sex, relationship to one another, primary role, types of dress

--Analyze the differences in commercial types and character portrayals between networks (general market v. Spanish-language)

--Analyze differences in character portrayals within network commercials (i.e. male v. female portrayals in Spanish-language commercials and male v. female portrayals in general market commercials)

Method

Quantitative content analysis was used because of its uniform coding and comparison abilities, and because it has been the preferred method of researchers conducting analysis of media content to which this study could at least in part be compared (see for example ; Dominick & Rausch, 1972; McArthur & Resko. 1975 Soley & Kurzbard, 1985).

Sample

Twenty-one prime-time hours of program and non-program material were taped off of the NBC affiliate and the Univision affiliate in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, between November 1 and November 11, 1998. The tapes were edited to include only commercials; program material and program promotions were deleted to preserve the focus of the study, which is advertising. Program promotions were considered to be more a reflection of programming than advertising, and therefore were not analyzed for this study.

The NBC tape yielded 504 total commercials (including duplications), that represented 305 different or "unique" spots. A total of 241 commercials were coded for Univision, representing 131 unique spots. Since the purpose of the study was to offer a complete picture of what the viewer was exposed to in commercial time slots on these days, the data and analysis include duplications.

Categories

The instrument developed by Armstrong and Kendrick (1999) was applied to the commercials from both networks. The Armstrong and Kendrick instrument employs coding schemes from previous media content studies including those which analyzed main characters (Craig, 1992), commercial setting (Bretl & Cantor, 1988), primary narrator (Bretl & Cantor, 1988), male/female roles, sexual content, sexual contact and degree of dress (Soley & Kurzbard, 1985), and primary role of main character (McArthur & Resko, 1975).

The first 16 items of the coding instrument measure variables related to the commercial-as-a-whole (such as sex of narrator and setting), and the following 21 items are recorded for up to two primary male adult characters and two primary female adult characters in each commercial. A primary character was operationally defined as having appeared on-camera for at least three seconds or having had at least one line of dialogue (see Schneider & Schneider, 1979).

Coders/Coding

The Univision commercials were first translated into English and then independently evaluated by two coders, a Hispanic male advertising executive and an English-speaking female advertising professor. The same female advertising professor and an advertising graduate student evaluated the NBC commercials. The total analysis resulted in 437 unique commercials. Commercials were played a minimum of two times in the presence of both coders, who independently evaluated the content simultaneously and then compared notes. Disagreements were resolved by discussion, yielding a single set of data for analysis. The coding resulted in evaluations for 819 primary characters. Using the Holsti method (1969) for inter-coder reliability, an overall reliability coefficient of .973 was determined.

Findings

Commercial-As-A-Whole Variables

Commercial Volume and Length. The 21 hours of programming on NBC netted almost twice as many minutes (231) of advertising than did the Univision programming (117 commercial minutes). Commercials on Univision were significantly longer as a group than those on NBC, with only 7% of Univision commercials running less than 30 seconds, compared with 21% of NBC spots ($t=30, df=8, p \leq .05$).

Product Mix. A variety of products and services were advertised on both stations, and the chi square test revealed significant differences among categories of advertisers.

--TABLE 1 GOES HERE--

The most frequently seen ads on NBC were automotive, services, retail, entertainment and quick service restaurants (see Table 1). Almost one in four commercials on Univision was a public service announcement (PSA), significantly more than NBC, which did not run any PSAs

during the hours coded (X2 = 124, df=1, p≤.05). Other categories, which were frequently featured in the Univision spots, were services, packaged goods, personal products and retail.

Character Mix. Actors of various ages were featured in almost nine out of ten commercials on both NBC and Univision, with the most common cast consisting of male and female adults. On NBC, however, commercials featuring only men were seen significantly more often than on Univision (22.6% v. 6.2%, X2 = 31, df=1, p≤.05).

--TABLE 2 GOES HERE--

Univision commercials were significantly more likely than those on NBC to show only women (13.3% v. 8.3%, (X2 = 4, df=1, p≤.05), women with children (10.4% v. 4.4%, (X2 = 10, df=1, p≤.05), and a mixture of all ages and sexes (27.4% v. 15.9%, (X^2 = 14, df=1, p≤.05).

Language. In 98% of cases, commercials on NBC were in English-only, with 1.8% in Spanish and English, compared with Univision's 93.4% Spanish-only, 2.1% Spanish and English, and 4.1% English-only (X^2=686, df=3, p≤.05).

Narrator. General market and Spanish-language television commercials also differed significantly by sex of narrator. NBC was more likely to feature male-narrated commercials (78.7%) than was Univision (59.3%), and Univision featured female-only narration in 29.5% of cases, versus NBC with 17.3% (X^2=38, df=3, p≤.05).

Commercial Setting. The most commonly coded setting for commercials for both networks was that of "multiple settings," (see Table 3) though the Univision spots were significantly more likely to feature an outdoor/away from home setting than were those on NBC (22.4% v. 7.4%, X^2 = 58, df=10, p≤.05).

--TABLE 3 GOES HERE--

Sexual Contact and Content. While the majority of commercials on both stations did not contain sexual content of any type (see Table 4), Spanish-language commercials were more likely than those on NBC to feature visual sexual content (19.9% vs. 5.2%; X^2=43, df=3, p≤.05). For example, the Scope mouthwash ad featured a couple locked in a deep, intimate kiss. This ad did not appear on NBC. Several ads (such as Coca-Cola and Honda Civic) contained mild sexual contact of men and women dancing while embraced.

--TABLE 4 GOES HERE--

Character Variables

Age, Sex and Race. Significantly more men than women appeared in NBC commercials (290 or 43.0% v. 219 or 57.0%), while on Univision more women than men were visible (196 or 63.2% v. 114 or 36.8%). In terms of race, NBC characters were 84% white, 11% black, and only 2% Hispanic (see Table 5), while nine out of ten characters on Univision were Hispanic and 8% were white.

--TABLE 5 GOES HERE--

Characters on Univision commercials were significantly younger (see Table 6) than their counterparts on NBC, with almost 70% of Univision females and 46% of Univision males 30 years or younger (for females X^2 = 35, df=4, p≤.05; for males X^2 = 25, df=4, p≤.05). And on both networks, females in commercials were younger than males (for NBC X^2 = 32, df=4, p≤.05; for Univision X^2 = 26, df=4, p≤.05).

--TABLE 6 GOES HERE--

Degree of Dress. Though most characters on both networks were fully or "demurely" dressed, characters on Univision appeared significantly more often as partially clad or nude than

did characters on NBC (see Table 7) (for women $X^2 = 23$, df=3, $p \leq .05$; for men $X^2 = 16$, df=3, $p \leq .05$). Women on both NBC and Univision were significantly less frequently dressed demurely than were males (for NBC $X^2 = 26$, df=3, $p \leq .05$; for Univision $X^2 = 21$, df=3, $p \leq .05$).

--TABLE 7 GOES HERE--

Roles/Relationships. Each main character was coded first for his/her primary role, and then a separate evaluation was made for various roles, primary and otherwise, which were observed. Males on NBC were significantly more likely to appear in a professional role as their primary role than were males on Univision (see Table 8), while Univision males were almost twice as likely to be cast as parents as males on NBC ($X^2 = 8$, df=1, $p \leq .08$, approaching significance). Though most of their primary roles were comparable, women on NBC were significantly more likely to appear as a lover or spouse than were Univision females ($X^2 = 9$, df=4, $p \leq .05$).

--TABLE 8 GOES HERE--

Table 9 displays the total duplicated roles in which the commercial characters appeared. Women in the Univision commercials were significantly more likely to appear as "responsible for the home" than were women in the NBC commercials ($X^2 = 8$, df=1, $p \leq .05$), and they were also more likely to appear as "adjunct" to the opposite sex ($X^2 = 39$, df=1, $p \leq .05$).

For men, the differences were more frequent. Men on Univision commercials were significantly more likely than men on NBC to appear as responsible for household chores ($X^2 = 18$, df=1, $p \leq .05$), in a parental role ($X^2 = 16$, df=1, $p \leq .05$), and as responsible for the home ($X^2 = 19$, df=1, $p \leq .05$). Men in NBC commercials were more likely to be portrayed as "autonomous" individuals ($X^2 = 13$, df=1, $p \leq .05$) and as professionals ($X^2 = 8$, df=1, $p \leq .05$).

--TABLE 9 GOES HERE--

Within NBC, several significant differences were observed between male and female main characters. Women were more often seen as responsible for the home ($X^2 = 30$, df=1, $p \leq .05$), as a parent ($X^2 = 18$, df=1, $p \leq .05$), as a lover ($X^2 = 6$, df=1, $p \leq .05$), as a homemaker ($X^2 = 36$, df=1, $p \leq .05$), as responsible for household chores ($X^2 = 19$, df=1, $p \leq .05$), and in an advisory role to a man ($X^2 = 13$, df=1, $p \leq .05$). Men on NBC commercials were more likely to appear in a professional role ($X^2 = 36$, df=1, $p \leq .05$) and in an autonomous role ($X^2 = 8$, df=1, $p \leq .05$).

Within Univision commercials, fewer differences were apparent. Females were more likely to appear as responsible for the home ($X^2 = 9$, df=1, $p \leq .05$), as homemakers ($X^2 = 12$, df=1, $p \leq .05$), in an advising role ($X^2 = 3$, df=1, $p \leq .05$), as "adjunct" to a man ($X^2 = 21$, df=1, $p \leq .05$), or as a parent ($X^2=4$,df=1,$p \leq .05$)

Discussion

This study compared prime time commercials on both a major Spanish-language network and a major general market network. The analysis also allowed comparison of the portrayals of men and women *within* each network's commercials.

Differences between networks

Commercials for products and services have a much stronger presence during an hour of NBC programming than they do on Univision. Viewers of Univision are not only exposed to a much lighter diet of commercials than are viewers of NBC, but they also receive significantly more public service announcements during prime time. NBC had *no* PSAs during the hours studied. The prevalence of PSAs appears to be a reflection of the abundance of available inventory on Spanish-language television, and the reluctance of general market networks to allocate precious inventory to social causes.

In addition to the marked differences in advertising volume on the two networks, significant differences exist for the product mix found in the ads. The NBC commercial pool featured significantly more automotive, entertainment and quick service restaurant advertising than did Univision. Spanish-language advertisers were more likely to be services (such as long distance), package goods and PSAs. This does not seem to be "in sync" with actual Hispanic buying habits. While Hispanics make up 12% of the population they buy 22% of the Coca-Cola Classic and 16% of lip liner sold (Santiago, 1999). They eat out 5.8 times per week and own 1.7 cars per household (Armband, 1999).

The racial mix of characters found on NBC in the case of blacks and whites is roughly in line with known US population parameters, but only 2% of those appearing in the general market commercials were Hispanic. This is also the reported case in network prime time progamming (Bauder, 1999) where Hispanics make up less than 3% of the prime-time characters, while African American characters represent approximately 16%. We are not suggesting that a mandate should exist that commercial content be in line with population estimates, but it is of interest that the incidence of Hispanics in the US today exceeds the appearance of Hispanic characters in NBC ads by a multiplier of five.

In many aspects, NBC commercial time appears more male-centered than that of Univision. Significantly more males than females appeared in NBC spots (just the opposite of Univision, where there were more females). This finding is consistent with other U.S. advertising studies which also found more male characters (Craig, 1992). Spanish-language television, in this case, is more similar to foreign media advertising, which typically features more female characters (Mwangi, 1996, Wiles, 1996, Zhou, 1997). In addition more male-only narrations are heard on NBC, and almost one-fourth of the NBC commercials feature a male-only cast.

Characters on Univision commercials are younger in age than those on NBC, are more likely to be dressed in a "sexy" manner, and (in the cases of men) are less likely to be cast in the role of a professional. The roles played by women on both networks had more similarities than differences, with the exception being the greater proportion of women on Univision being presented as responsible for the home. This finding could be attributed to the strong Hispanic cultural emphasis on women's domestic responsibilities.

Conversely, males on Univision were more likely than their NBC counterparts to be parents or involved in domestic activities. Since the percentage of household products was comparable on both networks, this emphasis on domesticity among both males and females in Univision commercials appear to be a reflection of family patterns ex roles and cultural values of the Hispanic population (Marin & Marin, 1991, Valdes & Seone, 1995).

Comparisons within networks

Many differences between male and female depictions were observed in both NBC and Univision. Females on both NBC and Univision were more likely than men to appear in domestic and parental roles. Even though Unvision males, as mentioned above, appear as more domestic and family-oriented than NBC males, within their own network they are still far less likely than Hispanic women to be cast in parental and home-related roles.

In summary, the composite picture of commercial content for the general market commercials contains a strong professional male element accompanied by considerable inconsistencies in roles assumed by males and females. The viewer of Spanish-language commercials witnesses significantly more female characters, though the role disparities are still present between the sexes. The Spanish-language television viewer is also exposed to many more public service spots, which focus attention on social issues.

The effect of these composite images over time, as Gerbner (1998) has suggested, establishes among viewers a "status quo" depiction of broadcast reality which itself has implications for how individuals view themselves and the world around them. This study the first of its kind to attempt a head-to-head comparison of network commercials aimed at a general market and at a minority audience, suggest that the disparity in commercial content and gender role portrayals is considerable both between and within networks. Further research could examine the effects of differences in content such as those described here on respective broadcast audiences.

Table 1

Product Mix in Prime Time Commercials

	NBC % (n=504)	Univision % (n=241)
Services	15.1	16.6
Automotive	16.3	5.4
Retail	13.1	8.3
Entertainment	12.9	5.4
Package Goods	7.3	10.0
PSA	0.0	23.7
Quick Service Restaurants	10.3	1.7
Personal Products	6.0	9.5
Medicine	3.8	7.9
Durables	4.6	0.0
Household Cleaners	3.0	2.9
Alcohol	2.4	3.3
Political	3.4	0.0
Music	0.0	5.4
Other	2.0	0.0

Table 2

Character Mix in Prime Time Commercials

	NBC % (n-504)	Univision % (n=241)
Men only	22.6	6.2
Women only	8.3	13.3
Adult Mixed	30.2	28.6
Children/Teens	2.4	5.0
Men w/Children	3.2	.4
Women w/Children	4.4	10.4
Mix of Ages and Sexes	15.9	27.4
No Characters	13.1	8.7

*based on coding of commercial-as-a-whole

Table 3
Setting for Prime Time Commercials

	NBC % (n-504)	Univision % (n=241)
Multiple Settings	30.2	46.5
Outside away from home	22.4	7.4
Room other than Kitchen or Bath	8.1	15.2
Business	10.1	3.0
Kitchen	6.0	4.3
Restaurant/Bar	3.2	1.3
Outside at home	1.8	1.7
Bathroom	.2	.9
Other	18.1	19.6

Table 4
Sexual Contact and Content in Prime Time Commercials

Level of Contact	NBC % (n-504)	Univision % (n=241)
No sexual contact	90.9	88.0
Eye contact	1.2	1.7
Holding Hands	4.6	4.1
Hugging/Kissing	2.2	6.2
Sexual Intercourse	1.2	0.0

Level of Content	NBC % (n-504)	Univision % (n=241)
No sexual content	90.3	77.6
Visual sexual content	5.2	19.9
Verbal sexual content	1.8	0.0
Visual and verbal content	2.8	2.5

Table 5

Racial Mix of Characters

	NBC % (n-504)	Univision % (n=241)
Hispanic	2.0	89.7
White	84.3	8.1
Black	11.2	1.0
Asian	2.2	0.0
Other	.4	1.3

Table 6

Age of Main Characters in Prime Time Commercials

	Under 21	21-30	31-40	41-50	Over 50
NBC Female	9.6	33.3	37.9	16.0	3.2
NBC Male	7.6	15.2	41.5	26.3	9.3
Uni. Female	16.8	50.0	13.3	16.8	3.1
Uni. Male	22.3	24.1	29.5	16.1	8.0

Table 7

Degree of Dress in Prime Time Commercials

	Demure	Suggestively	Partially Clad	Nude
NBC Female	87.7	7.3	2.3	2.7
NBC Male	97.6	.3	0.0	2.1
Uni. Female	72.4	9.7	14.3	3.6
Uni. Male	88.6	2.6	1.8	7.0

Table 8

Primary Role of Adult Characters

	Professional	Homemaker	Lover/Spouse	Parent	Other
NBC Female	21.5	12.3	11.9	14.2	40.2
NBC Male	45.5	1.0	6.9	6.2	40.3
Uni. Female	21.4	8.2	5.6	19.9	44.9
Uni. Male	28.1	2.6	6.1	11.4	51.8

Table 9

Roles /Relationships of Primary Characters

	NBC Female	NBC Male	Uni. Female	Uni. Male
Parent	18.3	6.2	25.5	19.3
Autonomous Individuals	19.2	30.3	20.4	13.2
Professional	18.3	43.4	19.9	28.1
Homemaker	13.7	.7	14.8	2.6
Resp. for home	11.9	.7	22.4	8.8
Other employee	11.4	7.2	6.6	2.6
Doing Chores	18.7	6.2	21.4	20.2
Advising the other sex	6.4	.7	6.1	1.8
Adjunct to the other sex	0.0	07	16.3	0.0
Lover/Spouse	12.3	6.2	7.1	9.6
Other	18.7	22.8	27.0	43.0

*characters could be coded into more than one role category

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